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ABSTRACT

The climate for black women students, faculty members, and administrators in both predominantly white as well as historically black colleges and universities is explored, focusing on the subtle and not so subtle ways that race and gender stereotypes can combine to create double obstacles for black women. Black women students, faculty members, and administrators do not perceive themselves and their concerns as integrated into the missions, goals, and social structures of college campuses. Topics of discussion are as follows: an overview of black women on campus; the university culture for students; classroom dynamics; the intersection of racism and sexism; curricular issues; black women and their choice of study; residential and social life; reaching out to black women students; admissions and financial aid; academic advising and mentoring; graduate students; barriers to the graduate degree; pre-university students; professional climate issues; affirmative action dilemma; double discrimination; the token syndrome; mentoring and support systems; historically black colleges; women's worth in a man's world; sexuality and sexual harassment; balancing competing obligations; collegiality among faculty; research, teaching, and tenure; retention; leadership and advocacy: critical skills; general policy recommendations; and recommendations for professional associations and organizations. Contains 58 references. (SM)

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PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN

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Black Women in Academe
Issues and Strategies

by Yolanda T. Moses

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"At the intersection of race and gender stand women of color, torn by the lines of bias that currently divide white from nonwhite in our society, and male from female. The worlds these women negotiate demand different and often wrenching allegiances. As a result, women of color face significant obstacles to their full participation in and contribution to higher education. In their professional roles, women of color are expected to meet performance standards set for the most part by white males. Yet their personal lives extract a loyalty to their culture that is central to acceptance by family and friends. At the same time, they must struggle with their own identity as women in a society where 'thinking like a woman' is still considered a questionable activity. At times, they can even experience pressure to choose between their racial identity and their womanhood."[1]

Black Women on Campus: An Overview

This paper explores the climate for Black women students, faculty members, and administrators in both predominantly white colleges and universities as well as historically Black colleges and universities.[2] It focuses on the subtle—and not so subtle—ways that race and gender stereotypes can combine to create double obstacles for Black women.

Black women have been participants in higher education for more than a century, but they are almost totally absent from the research literature; rarely is the impact of racism *and* sexism on Black women in academe examined.[3] This report will provide such an examination. In addition, it offers recommendations and resources to help institutions be more supportive and aware of the needs of Black women students, faculty members, and administrators. The report draws from the Project on the Status and Education of Women's (PSEW) extensive files and previous reports as well as informal interviews with Black women and anecdotal material collected through an informal questionnaire of Black women students, faculty members, and administrators around the country.[4] Recommendations, geared to both historically Black and predominantly white institutions, follow most sections of the paper. For those sections without specific recommendations, see the general policy section at the end of the report. Recommendations from other sections also may be applicable. Also included at the end of the paper are recommendations for professional associations. Not all suggestions will be appropriate for all institutions. The recommendations are tailored for the needs of Black women specifically but can be adapted to address the concerns of all women.

Many misconceptions surround the status of Black women on campus, in large part, because there is very little research specifically concerning Black women in academe, how they are faring, and what issues are of concern to them.[5] Research

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on minorities and women often ignores the unique position and experiences of Black women. The result is that Black women are virtually invisible.

The discussion that follows will focus on attitudes and behaviors that raise barriers on many campuses to the success of Black women in higher education. An analysis and discussion of these issues form the basis of this report.

In order to create a more hospitable climate for Black women on the campuses of this country, we must know about their needs and concerns. Most research conducted on racial/ethnic minority issues continues to treat minority groups as sexually monolithic; it assumes that what is true for minority men is also true for minority women. For example, a review of four national reports on higher education published within the last two years shows that in only one of the reports, *The New Agenda of Women for Higher Education*, were the issues of race *and* gender integrated throughout.[4] Many leaders of higher education institutions in this country will be using the data and recommendations from these reports to establish policy for minority students on their campuses well into the twenty-first century. The unfortunate result is that, as in the past, policies and programs will be formulated on the assumption that Black women and Black men have identical experiences in college.

The following are some questions that people in the higher education community—including those on every campus—should be asking.

- Who are the Black women on campus today?
- Are their experiences adequately documented?
- How are they faring compared to white women, white men, Black men, and other minority men and women in academe?
- What is the overall campus environment for Black women? Are Black women welcomed by the university community? How are they treated by their institutions? Are they included in the informal as well as formal aspects of university life? To what degree do issues such as racial and sexual harassment affect them?
- Do university services and programs meet the needs of Black women? Are their needs being met by the counseling centers, student life services, and career development offices?
- Does the curriculum reflect the culture and contributions of Black women?
- Do Black women faculty members and administrators participate in the governance and policy-making arenas of their institutions? Do they have clear lines of communication through which they can make their concerns heard within the campus community?
- To what extent have traditional methods and strategies that are used to attract and retain students, faculty members, and administrators been successful for Black women? Are other more specific strategies needed?
- Do Black women students find adequate mentors to help them guide their careers?
- Are financial aid services sufficient for the needs of Black women?
- Are Black women faculty members and administrators treated similarly to Black men, white men, and white women in tenure and promotion processes?
- Is the scholarship and research of Black women as valued as that of men and white women? Is it judged by the same criteria?
- What factors can enhance the success of Black women students, faculty members, and administrators in pursuing their career goals?
- Do university officials and faculty members on predominantly white campuses as well as on historically Black campuses understand the gender issues and the ethnic/racial issues that affect Black women?

This report begins to answer some of these questions. Ideally, it will stimulate institutions to answer them more fully and to raise additional questions as well.

The University Culture for Students

"[The university] is a white, traditional, male-oriented society that expects very little of women. But it expects even less of Black women like me."[7]

In 1986, Black students were 8.6 percent of the total undergraduate enrollment in higher education institutions. Black women constituted 59.6 percent of the total Black undergraduate enrollment that year, up from 54.5 percent in 1976.[8] While Black women tend to major in education, the social sciences, and the humanities, there has been an increasing shift in recent years to majors in business, computer science, math, and engineering.[9] At the professional graduate level, the number of Black female students in medicine, law, and health sciences is increasing steadily while the number of Black women seeking Ph.D.s is increasing more slowly.[10]

Among the few explorations of the different experiences of Black men and women in college are studies by Jacqueline Fleming and Walter Allen. They found that:

- Black women become less assertive when they are educated with men
- Black women sometimes believe that they are less competent than men
- Black women lose some social assertiveness skills in Black colleges, but not in white colleges where Black men are fewer in number
- Black women often suffer from "emotional pain, social isolation, or aroused fears about their competence," especially at predominantly white colleges and universities.[11]

Once Black women get to campus they are members of a community that tends to treat them differently than it does Black males, white males, and white females. Isolation, invisibility, hostility, indifference, and lack of understanding of Black women's experiences are all too often part of the climate that Black women may face on campuses.

Black women students on predominantly white campuses are rarely integrated into the life and culture of their institutions, nor are there clear paths for them to effect change. As Doris J. Wright notes in her study of responses to the needs of minority students, "A racially naive or insensitive campus environment, one that is non-accepting of minority students' cultural and racial distinctiveness, can thwart or stifle development. In turn, thwarted development places students at risk educationally and emotionally."[12] Jacqueline Fleming, in her study of Black males and females in predominantly white colleges, also found that overt and covert racism in faculty/student relationships creates a climate of hostility and rejection as well as lasting psychological damage.[13] Examples from students responding to PSEW's questionnaire illustrate this:

"When we talk about Black issues in class I am called upon, but not at any other time. I am always used as an example. As far as white students go, I am usually ignored if I attend social events."

"My teachers, all but one, don't know how to treat me. They are always slightly surprised when I ask a probing or thoughtful question."

"As a graduate student, I was basically ignored. The only exception to this was one tenured professor, a Black man, who consistently encouraged me even though I was not in his program. I took only one course from him but he...encouraged my scholarship. He also published and gave me credit for two case studies I had completed for his class. He was one of the main reasons I stayed on."

"Sometimes I used to think that I was imagining this treatment of isolation. Then I would talk to other Black women about it and they would talk about it too—it was not just me, but I thought it was, at least for the first year."

"I experience isolation because I am estranged from both Black and white students. White students ignore me because all they see is my blackness. They do not care to know me as a person, as a woman. From other Blacks I am isolated because I am West Indian. I am culturally different."

Classroom Dynamics

"Black students often report that the professors' tone of voice or facial expressions display disbelief or surprise when they respond correctly or otherwise show good performance.... Black students report that professors offer little guidance and criticism of Black students' work.... Professors will often make stereotypical comments about Blacks without being aware of the hurtful impact that these comments can have on Black students, particularly when they imply that Blacks are less competent than whites."[14]

"White students get the most attention from teachers and Black students get the least attention from their teachers; and faculty spend less time answering questions of Black students. This research indicates that the major problem Black students are having at predominantly white colleges is that they are ignored in the classroom."[15]

The differential treatment of Black women students in the classroom may serve only to make them feel even more isolated from the campus community. PSEW has discussed elsewhere that in selecting and reacting to university environments, females tend to be more attuned to the personal supportiveness of their environment than males; that both men and women faculty members may communicate sex-related and racial insensitivity to their students; and that these classroom experiences have an overall negative impact on women's and minority students' educational and career development.[16] Yet few researchers have questioned or analyzed specifically what happens to Black female students in the predominantly white classroom. What is evident, given the literature on minorities and women in general, is that a double bias exists in which Black women are judged on the basis of preconceived notions about women *and* Blacks. The following discussion highlights factors that discourage or prevent Black females' full participation in the classroom.

Intellectual competence and leadership ability are qualities most often attributed to white males. The result is that competent, dynamic Black females are treated as if they are exceptions rather than the rule.[17] A student respondent notes, "My professor in biology did not know how to treat me. He seemed surprised when I told him I wanted to be a doctor."

Black women students may be treated differently on the basis of gender by Black male faculty members and differently on the basis of gender and/or race by white male and white female faculty members. A student at a Black college notes, "I have this older Black male professor who does not want to listen to me when I raise gender issues in class. It really upsets me because the majority of students in the class are female." A reentry student also notes, "While professors don't have a corner on the market for sexism, some Black male professors have the same value system as do white males regarding the role of women."

In predominantly white institutions, the paradox of underattention and overattention is experienced by Black women. On one hand, Black women and their comments may be ignored in some classes and in seminars while, on the other hand, they may be called upon to represent their race.[18] An undergraduate student comments, "On the days I know they are going to talk about Black issues, I don't go because I know she is going to call on me and it makes me uncomfortable."

Another student, who wants to contribute but is ignored until the class is discussing Black issues, says, "It really upsets me that many times I know the answer, but my teacher will call on me to answer questions about Black issues or Black women's issues, but not general issues." And finally, a graduate student notes, "As an older graduate student, and frequently the only minority [student], I sometimes feel that my comments and opinions are held up as though I speak for the entire Black race. Such sweeping generalizations are neither fair to me personally nor to Blacks in general."

Students (especially graduate students) whose research focuses on issues of particular concern to Black women may be dismissed, devalued, or not enthusiastically supported.[19] A graduate student responding to the questionnaire notes, "When I told my advisor I wanted to do my thesis on Black women and economic development, he did not know what to say. He finally said that if I could find someone from outside the department to sit on my committee, it would be okay. To this day, the department has not been supportive of what I want to do."

Black female students are often excluded from the informal and social aspects of their departments and institutions—sometimes by white women as well as by white men.[20] In a women's studies seminar, one Black student found her instructor resistant when the student challenged her about Black women's experiences. "I was surprised to find this professor who was really in tune to most issues . . . became hostile when I told her that her generalizations about Blacks were not true."

Black women students, like other women students, may be viewed or treated in a sexual way, which can lead to increased sexual harassment or to a "distancing" between the student and the faculty member.[21] A reentry student, in response to the PSEW questionnaire, talked about the anger she felt when she dropped a class because she felt uncomfortable with the sexual advances the faculty member was making. "I am a single parent paying my own way through school, and I was so upset about this man coming on to me that I just dropped the class in the middle of the quarter. I will now have to pay again to take it over."

Misinterpretations of Black women's behavior may often interfere with the establishment of rapport between student and faculty member. For example, a Black woman's silence may be interpreted as sullenness, while an assertive verbal remark may be interpreted as a challenge or as disrespect.[22] Black students often find themselves in a "Catch-22" situation; they may be punished if they use their survival skills. A student writes, "The process of survival makes you hard and aggressive. The system arouses you mentally and physically. You are isolated. You are conditioned to think you are dumb. Your reaction, if you have any sense of self, is an aggressive one."[23]

Stereotypes about Black women often can mask the reality of their experiences. For example, Black women are culturally stereotyped as being independent, emotionally strong, and capable of taking care of themselves. This stereotype obscures the fact that Black women students (like white women students) have trouble asserting themselves in some settings. Faculty members and administrators may be unaware that Black women's "toughness" sometimes masks uncertainty and vulnerability.

Recommendations

☐ Help professors discover the degree to which their opinions and attitudes tend to perpetuate the racial suppositions of their own culture.

☐ Help faculty members explore their attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors toward Black women students and toward issues of race and sex. Conduct special workshops to raise awareness and initiate change. Black women consultants can be especially helpful in this enterprise.

☐ Distribute materials about Black women—such as this report and others in the bibliography—to faculty members.

☐ Incorporate into faculty development and orientation programs issues concerning Blacks in general and Black women in particular.

☐ Urge faculty members to make special efforts to be available to Black women students who need assistance. Faculty members should not assume, however, that Black women are poorly prepared. Too often, faculty members rely on previous experiences with poorly prepared students and have lower expectations for their Black female students.

The Intersection of Racism and Sexism

"While more than half of all college students believe that relations between whites and minorities on their campuses are 'friendly but not close,' 41 percent say there is racial prejudice at their school."[24]

". . . racist themes at fraternity parties, subtly different treatment by professors, and epithets scrawled on dormitory room doors. . . . In the wake of [these] incidents, some colleges and universities have mounted programs to sensitize students, faculty members, and administrators to racial issues."[25]

"Almost every faculty member whom I interviewed was ashamed to find racial prejudice in him or herself. To counter this shame white faculty looked away from issues of race for fear of having to become more aware of their own almost unwilling prejudice."[26]

"Personal threat [to students] is a major pressure on 50 percent of the predominantly white campuses. Black students (both men and women) are spending more of their time coping with overt and covert threats than attending [to] the competencies that they go to college to attain."[27]

Minority students often perceive the campus as hostile and unsupportive. Too often campus administrators are unaware of or tolerate racism, sexism, and other overt and covert

biases. Over the past few years, there has been an increasing number of racial incidents on college campuses. Some see in these incidents evidence of a new racism; others say it is not new at all but is the result of the presence of more outspoken Blacks on predominantly white college campuses and more campus administrators who are struggling to deal with racism on their campuses in ways that the larger society has not.[28]

What has not been examined in many discussions of racism on campus is how Black women are uniquely affected by discrimination based on race and sex. Gender harassment–any expression of generalized sexist attitudes–frequently occurs with racial harassment. Racism and sexism are often fused in the images men typically have of Black women–especially dealing with sexuality and sexual activity but in other areas as well. The following examples illustrate how racial and sexual issues are often combined:

- At the University of Alabama, a cross was burned on the lawn of the house where the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority (an international sorority founded by Black women) was to move. The sorority eventually moved in. The two white male students who set the fire were expelled. (Subsequently, a member of the Black women's sorority was elected homecoming queen.)[29]
- Two white males at University of California–Berkeley hung a Black woman's bicycle in the showers in her dormitory. White students tended to see the incident as a routine college prank. Black students alleged that the episode was racially inspired.[30]
- A white professor at Georgia Southwestern College has been suspended with pay pending an investigation of a Black female student's allegation that he used a profane racial slur to address her. The student charged that the tenured member of the English department had made the remark to her when she went to his office to withdraw from his class. The student said she had withdrawn because of alleged racist overtones in the professor's remarks during class discussions.[31]
- Another incident involved racial slurs painted on the steps of Mount Holyoke, a women's college, as well as a rumor that a white student in a Ku Klux Klan outfit at a Halloween party won a prize for the costume.[32] "Racism is something I've felt ever since I came up here, but it's always been latent," said one Mount Holyoke senior. "Now white U. Mass. men are warning Black Mount Holyoke women to stay away from [the U. Mass.] campus." A subsequent teach-in on racism attracted more than six hundred students at Mount Holyoke.
- At the University of Pennsylvania, a white fraternity was closed after Black students protested a party at which two Black women performed a strip tease show.[33]
- At one university, a fraternity distributed a poster of a Black woman with the caption, "Play with me."
- A fraternity at a southern college was suspended for one year after members admitted including a racial slur directed at Black women in the college yearbook.[34]

In incidents such as these, it is difficult to identify whether or how much the attitudes and behaviors are based on racism or sexism. It is clear, however, that racial and sexual stereotypes work together to reinforce negative images of Black women.

Curricular Issues

"There has been a failure of the curriculum to keep up with the scholarship on minority and women's studies.... The curriculum is not preparing students to deal with the multicultural society in which they live. We have to help students understand each other and perhaps be able to lessen some of the tensions that are part of society."[35]

"They [Black males and females] are ignored personally and in the curriculum. The Black experience is not given any acknowledgment at all, and at the same time, majority students are being deprived of information about the Black experience.... This leads to a great deal of underlying tension, and to address the problem long term, universities must change the nature of the curriculum, change it so that all Americans are acknowledged...and the curriculum does not promote ignorance."[36]

The 1960s and the 1970s saw the development of Black studies and women's studies programs across the country. In many of these programs and departments, however, the concerns of Black women are peripheral. Black studies programs often ignore Black women's issues, while the women's studies curriculum often focuses on the concerns of white women. Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Patricia Bell-Scott note: "Although the feminist movement on campus has tried to represent the cross-cultural orientation of all women, the movement at its best has attempted to transcend rather than confront the racial tensions and the complexities resulting from Black women's involvement in the movement."[37]

The programs in women's studies and Black studies departments are usually administered by white women and Black men, not Black women. Thus, Black women find themselves in situations where their concerns often are not heard or, at best, where assumptions are made about their needs that are not based on facts. As one of the respondents to the questionnaire noted, "In my women's studies class we had very little time to talk about the Black family and the role of Black women. That's what I took it for." To overcome this, some Black feminists advocate the establishment of a separate Black women's studies curriculum where Black women scholars have control of the content.[38]

Recommendations

☐ Develop special courses on Black women.

☐ Hold conferences and workshops for faculty members and students on Black women's issues.

☐ Encourage faculty (by released time, for example) to attend workshops on how to integrate material about minorities–

especially Black women—into their mainstream courses.
☐ Encourage campus libraries to collect and publicize materials about Black women.
☐ Ensure that Black women's issues are given attention whenever programs are developed concerning Black issues.
☐ Use the expertise of Black faculty members to plan campus and community programs that support an understanding of Black culture. For example, the University of Texas–Austin produces a radio program called "In Black America" that showcases Black research issues.[39]

Black Women and Their Choice of Study

"One classmate had a professor tell her that Blacks don't do well in math because they lack spatial sense and math sense. She was a straight 'A' student and this blew her mind.... "[40]

"I was in a class where we needed to do a group project. All of the groups formed without me, so the professor was forced to assign me. They tried to delegate the important tasks to themselves and tried to give me the trivial assignments. I set them straight, though. Any activity that required group work was a tremendous strain due to prejudicial attitudes."[41]

Black women, like white women, have been encouraged to major in the traditional "helping" fields (education, social work, nursing) as well as the social and behavioral sciences, the humanities, and the fine arts. Recent research and statistical data show, however, that Black students are diversifying their choices of major into nontraditional fields such as business, chemistry, and mathematics.[42]

At historically Black colleges, the entire university structure is geared toward serving the needs of Black students (both male and female) and validating their worth as students. Predominantly white colleges do not generally operate with this same tradition and philosophy.[43] Although Black colleges only enroll 30 percent of all Black students in the country, a larger percentage of Black students successfully complete their degree at Black colleges. The greater success of Black colleges in retaining and graduating Black students—especially in such fields as agriculture, biology, computer science, and business—attests to Black colleges' ability to provide the kind of intellectual and environmental support that fosters Black students' success.[44] In some Black colleges, however, Black women students (like white women in predominantly white institutions) actually set their goals lower than men. They perform more poorly in math, experience more anxiety during competition, and express more dissatisfaction with their academic performance than men.[45]

Often, Black women—like white women—are unprepared for math and science courses because they have been underprepared in high school. Black women who major in nontraditional fields such as mathematics, science, engineering, and computer science face the same kinds of difficulties that Black women in all disciplines may face, including:
- experiencing diminished self-confidence such as feeling less prepared in relation to classmates
- learning how to adjust to a predominantly white and male environment, cultural barriers, and racial isolation
- experiencing negative faculty expectations
- dealing with a lack of faculty role models.

A report on the racial climate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology summarizes the experiences of Black women (and men) students in the fields of math, science, and engineering on a predominantly white campus. It concludes that Black students (both female and male) face the same pressures that any student would (academic workload, pace, general adjustments), but that there are additional race-related pressures that make an already demanding experience worse.[46]

Recommendations

Some keys to success for Black women students who may need extra encouragement to pursue careers in nontraditional fields are:
☐ Programs in elementary and middle school to encourage students to embark on scientific and technical careers.[47]
☐ Mentors and role models throughout students' higher education experience.[48]
☐ Supportive programs in undergraduate and graduate school that help build and maintain students' self-esteem as well as sharpen their academic skills.[49] Minority affairs offices and women's centers can be especially helpful.
☐ Faculty members who interact with students and demonstrate confidence in students' ability to learn.
☐ Small-group and collaborative learning, especially in technical disciplines such as mathematics, science, computer science, and engineering. Uri Treisman has established such a program at the University of California–Berkeley that helps minority students excel in mathematics.

Residential and Social Life

"You're usually the only Black person in your class. There's no one here to relate to—that leaves you locked up in your room, watching TV, listening to your tapes, and going home on the weekends."[50]

"Another example offered by a Black graduate student (and echoed by other Black women) concerned the health center: 'You scare them or something. They (interns) walk into a room and Black women are there and they jump—maybe they have apprehensions about us... it's just more comfortable not to go.'"[51]

The quality of the social and residential life that Black women experience can have a profound and lasting effect on the maturity, growth, and self-esteem of Black women students. Historically Black colleges and universities have, for more than a century, provided residential and social environments where young Black women could develop within a relatively

safe environment, free from racism, but not necessarily from sexism.[52] Predominantly white colleges and universities may provide broader educational opportunities for Black women students but they treat Black women differently on the basis of both race and gender.[53] The following discussion highlights factors that affect the lives of Black women on residential campuses and present barriers to their active participation in university life.

Because there may be few Black female students on predominantly white campuses, and because white and Black women may find it difficult to socialize with each other, Black women often spend time alone in their residence halls. Some residence hall advisors do not respond in a serious manner to concerns raised by Black women or other women of color about problems in the dormitory. Advisors may not be aware of the affirmative action policies and minority student services on campus and therefore are not able to be very helpful to students seeking advice.

Petty hostility toward women and racism toward minority women is often expressed in social and residential settings. In some colleges, posters and flyers that stereotype minority women have been allowed to remain on the walls of residence halls. White fraternities and sororities sometimes sponsor events that are offensive to Black women students: fraternity men have dressed as members of the Ku Klux Klan, staged mock hangings, or hired Black strippers. Activities sponsored by Black women's organizations are often undervalued or ignored.

Black women students, like all students, want to make friends and grow socially within the college environment. These concerns are a challenge for Black students if they perceive little within that environment that allows them to experience a sense of belonging—an essential component for social adjustment. In this section we will look at dating, social activities, and student government and leadership issues.

Dating. Dating can be problematic for Black women on both Black campuses and white campuses because there are fewer and fewer Black males on either kind of campus. On some college campuses, the ratio of Black women to Black men is two to one.[54] Additionally, Black males tend to date interracially more often, while Black females do not cross racial lines as frequently.[55] One student respondent to the PSEW questionnaire notes, "A lot of women are upset if there are no men in their lives and there is some hostility toward interracial couples." Tension is thus created between Black and white women as well as between Black women vying for attention from Black men. Says one student, "Lots of people don't even speak to you. They are busy competing with you, with everyone, for the attention of the few brothers."[56] One of the student respondents comments, "I tell my Black women friends they do not have to sit in the dorms on the weekends and look at each other, they can go out together. Or they can date white men or other minority men. I have done that." Counselors have noted that a lack of opportunities to date may affect the emotional well-being of some students, interfering with their mental health as well as their ability to concentrate on their studies.[57]

Social activities. One of the most stable and enduring social outlets for Black women on both Black and white campuses has been the Black sorority. For example, Delta Sigma Theta, one of several major national and international Black women's Greek service organizations, has more than 125,000 members, many of them famous Black American women such as Barbara Jordan, Shirley Chisolm, and Lena Horne.[58] As Margaret Edds writes in the *Los Angeles Times*, "What the Black sisterhood offers Black women then and now is psychological strength in an often hostile environment (both within and without the university); a place of comfort and purpose for Black students whose opportunities were limited by white society; and a source of leadership training for the roles that Black women would play in the larger society."[59] Additionally many of these sororities have complementary relationships with Black fraternities, and often provide the opportunity for Black men and women to meet and socialize.

Student government and leadership. Student government activities on campus can provide a way for Black female students to develop leadership skills and self-esteem. It is no accident that Black women's colleges like Spelman and Bennett graduate women who develop leadership skills as a part of their college experience. The majority of Black women in higher education do not have the benefit of an all-female, all-Black environment in which to grow. On predominantly white campuses and on coeducational Black campuses, Black women do not often take leadership roles. They must deal with both gender biases and racial barriers.[60] Several of the respondents to PSEW's questionnaire addressed this issue:

> "There were so few Blacks on campus that I had no Black constituency.... My supporters were a coalition of women, minorities, and white males who wanted to see change."

> "I don't have time for student government or campus politics—I am really too busy with the politics of survival: trying to get my degree and keep my job."

Recommendations

☐ Develop student services that reflect the presence of Black women on campus. For example, train resident assistants to deal not only with racial and sexual issues but also those that affect Black and other minority women.

☐ Ensure that programs (such as films and speaker series) include Black women's concerns. Invite Black women to speak on campus.

☐ Establish centers where Black students can meet for social and educational exchanges. While these centers may be considered separatist by some on predominantly white campuses,

these centers provide an "oasis," a place where Black students feel comfortable on predominantly white campuses. They also provide a place where Black women and men can meet and socialize with each other. Centers of this type exist, for example, at the University of Massachusetts–Boston, Harvard University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

☐ Support the establishment of networks and organizations for Black women students who are members of special groups (for example, Black women reentry students; Black women's lesbian groups; or Black women in particular fields of study).

☐ Create special places on campus for Black reentry women. For example, Chatham College (PA) has set aside a special dormitory to take care of the needs of returning women students including Black women.[61]

☐ Encourage Black female students to participate in leadership activities such as student associations, student clubs, and internship programs. University personnel can tap Black women's professional organizations to help provide mentors and role models. The Council of Negro Women and numerous sororities have local chapters that can provide Black female students with leadership opportunities.

☐ If the campus store sells toiletries, include personal care items for Black women.

Reaching Out to Black Women Students

"Institutions that are most successful in graduating minority students have developed programs and services not only to meet the needs of minority students, but also to affect other college students, faculty and the administration through positive endorsement of cultural and academic diversity."[62]

"Universities generally do not tolerate glaring deficiencies or minimal productivity in their athletic programs or fiscal areas; why is it tolerated among retention programs?"[63]

"There must be some evidence of institutional commitment to the needs of Black or minority students. The institution that does not have a cadre of Black professors and administrators is going to have a tough time selling itself to Black students."[64]

The attitudes and behaviors of faculty members, student services staff members, other campus employees, and student peers frequently determine how well—or how poorly—women students are served.[65] University academic programs and support services may overlook the needs of Black women students. There is increasing anecdotal as well as statistical evidence that minority students' academic success in college is linked to certain emotional, social, and academic supports as well as to positive campus environmental factors that encourage and challenge minority students to achieve.[66] There is an abundance of research that attempts to predict which students will drop out of college and why.[67] Students drop out for many reasons; some are alterable, some are not.[68]

Michael Nettles, a researcher with the Educational Testing Service, says that one determinant of a student's satisfaction with his or her university experience is the perception of discrimination directed against him or her. "In terms of success predictors...the best predictor of performance among people in college, regardless of whether they are Black or white, is the feeling of discrimination. People who feel less discriminated against racially tend to perform better at university."[69] Beatriz C. Clewell and Myra S. Ficklen examined four universities with successful retention rates and found that they had nine factors in common:

- clear policy statements on retention
- institutional commitments to retention from the top down
- institutionalization of retention programs
- favorable institutional climate
- comprehensive student services
- dedicated staff
- data collection
- faculty support
- nonstigmatization of the participants.[70]

Several support services and retention programs within colleges and universities are of special value to Black women. Financial aid counseling, advising, mentoring, and learning assistance will be discussed later in this paper.

Recommendations

☐ Increase the presence of Black female faculty members and administrators on campus. They can be role models for Black females as well as other students who may not be accustomed to seeing Black women in leadership positions.

☐ Develop comprehensive recruitment and retention initiatives that involve the entire university. Ensure that resources are allocated from the top down. "The Madison Plan," developed at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, is an example of this kind of comprehensive program. The plan aims to double the number of minority students at UW-Madison and add more than two hundred minority faculty members, academic staff, and classified staff in the next three to five years.[71]

☐ Ensure that retention and recruitment programs deal specifically with Black women.

☐ Reflect in recruitment materials the diversity that the campus is trying to foster. A photograph of a Black female student actively involved in campus life often says more to prospective students than carefully prepared speeches.

☐ Sponsor activities that validate the presence of Black female students on campus. For example, the University of California-Davis has an annual "Black Family Week" in which Black females play a key role.

☐ Ensure that outreach programs, such as summer orientations, are attentive to the needs of Black female students.

☐ Include Black women in career programs and other university-wide programming.

☐ Encourage faculty members and chairs of departments to seek out Black female students and include them in informal

gatherings with other students.

☐ Encourage recruitment officers and faculty members to be open and honest about the campus, the curriculum, and the experiences of minority students. A program at Smith College (MA) uses its Black alumnae to tell students about the climate for Black women on campus.

☐ Examine retention strategies of historically Black colleges and determine which of these strategies could be implemented on your campus.

☐ Establish student peer workshops in which older Black female students are paired with younger students.

☐ Involve Black women alumnae in developing policies and procedures to create a nonracist, nonsexist environment. These women can serve as role models and mentors for Black women students—especially on predominantly white campuses.

☐ Incorporate the knowledge of Black parents into long-range planning on campus. Many Black parents are valuable resources because of their creativity in helping their children obtain college degrees.[72]

☐ Enlist the help of Black business owners and professionals—including Black women—in retention efforts. These members of the community can play major roles in encouraging and mentoring students.

Admissions and Financial Aid

It has been documented elsewhere that Black students (both male and female) are more likely to go into debt to pay for their education than are white students.[73] These costs may also explain why many Black women students choose to spread out the cost of education by attending school part time.[74] The admissions and financial aid processes, which are often students' first exposure to the way a university works, can set the tone for students' participation both within and without the university.[75]

Black women, like all other women and men of color, sometimes face discriminatory treatment that hampers their educational experience. Following are examples of discriminatory treatment of Black women.

- Questioning Black women about their seriousness of purpose. ("Are you sure that you want to major in something this difficult?")
- Asking questions of Black women, but not of men, related to their potential or actual marital status.
- Treating part-time Black women students as if they were not serious or had less potential than other applicants.
- Denying or limiting aid to part-time students, many of whom are Black women who may also have family and job responsibilities.
- Offering women and men with children different kinds of aid because of sex-biased assumptions that men shoulder more of the family costs.[76] Black women are more likely than white women to be single parents with total responsibility for the economic support of their families.[77]
- Approaching the issue of marital status and family arrangements with little sensitivity to lesbian and gay students.[78]
- Failing to ensure that Black women students are aware of the financial aid process especially if they are the first in their family to go to college. Black women students need to have all available information, including exactly how much money they will need and how most effectively to describe their strengths on admissions and application forms.[79]

Recommendations[80]

☐ Examine criteria, rules, and regulations for awards, fellowships, and scholarships periodically to ensure that Black women are not excluded.[81]

☐ Award grants rather than loans to Black women students whenever possible. If Black women students did not incur large loans for their undergraduate education, they might have a greater incentive to go on to graduate school.

☐ Encourage Black women to participate in on-campus work-study employment. This would allow for more involvement in the life and culture of the university.

☐ Develop career-oriented programs that are adaptable to the needs of working Black female students. The PACE program at California State University–Dominguez Hills offers a bachelor of arts degree to adult learners with classes held in the evenings and on the weekends at community sites.[82] Trinity College (DC) has a similar weekend B.A. program.

Academic Advising and Mentoring

"It is clear to me that we as Black administrators and faculty at both white and Black colleges can play a greater role in keeping Black students enrolled once they are recruited. We must begin to examine critically the quality and quantity of mentoring relationships with students. We can never establish too many of these relationships."[83]

The rapport that develops between students and their professors and academic counselors is often critical to students' success. Black women students frequently miss out on the experience of having a mentor or advisor they can look to as a role model. Black women faculty members and administrators are scarce on many campuses and those who are there are often overburdened with committee work and other obligations. The lack of Black women leaders on college and university campuses is a distinct disadvantage for Black women students.

Unfortunately, Black female students frequently meet with negative behaviors and attitudes that discourage them and diminish their efforts to be serious students. Black women may be encouraged to take courses and choose majors that continue to put them in traditionally Black and female occupations, such as teaching and social work.

Just as faculty members often know the names of more male students than female students, faculty members may be less likely to remember Black women's names. One woman notes, "It really made me angry that even when I corrected this person, he continued to slip and call me by another person's name; after a while I did not even bother to correct him." Some advisors may forget appointments or spend less time with Black women students than with others.

Some people treat older Black women—reentry women—in a patronizing way.[84] A returning elementary school teacher notes, "My advisor did not even bother to find out my background until I kept impressing upon her the fact that I had already had university experience, albeit ten years ago."

Some Black women find that, because their advisors are uncomfortable with them, the advisors often do not give honest assessments of the students' strengths and weaknesses. Several respondents to the PSEW questionnaire expressed concern that their advisors' attempts to be "nice" made getting helpful feedback difficult. Black women express concern also that their advisors do not really get to know them as people. Notes one woman, "I feel so formal when I go in to talk to him. It's like we are having a meeting with an agenda."

While many faculty members and administrators see the establishment of mentoring programs as essential to retaining Blacks and women, there are different ideas about what constitutes good mentoring.[85] Ideally, a professor takes an undergraduate or graduate student under his or her wing, helps the student set goals and develop skills, and facilitates the student's successful entry into academic and professional circles.[86] Good mentoring programs provide the opportunity for both faculty and staff to share their expertise and insights with students either on a short- or long-term basis. Good mentors can be Black or white, female or male. It isn't easy for Black women students to find mentors for several reasons. Many potential mentors are unfamiliar with Black issues and women's issues and may be unable to relate to the needs of Black women students. Many white mentors—male and female—find it difficult to build a truly sharing experience with Black females.[87]

Research done at Hunter College shows that white male mentors tend to view their male protéges as having long-term commitment to their careers while they view their female protégées as needing help to get through school or to do a job.[88] Although Black male mentors may be aware of the special needs of Black students, they are not always aware of the special needs of female students and may give Black women less support.

Some Black women do not feel their mentors show commitment and belief in their capabilities. One woman respondent said, "I am not ignored, but it's just a polite indifference that I feel." Research by Charles Willie and others shows that it takes many minority students about four years to orient themselves and work to their full potential; white mentors may be using white students as the model for successful behavior.[89]

Black women are often perceived as "aggressive" and "pushy" if, in graduate school, they insist on a mentor or someone who will be supportive within the department. One student says, "I knew I was not going to be assigned to a good mentor unless I made my voice heard. But it caused some problems because graduate students are to be seen but not heard." Herbert Exum, at North Carolina State University, also notes the importance of Black graduate students not leaving the choice of mentors to chance.[90] The reality, however, is that a Black female student who asserts herself may be further stereotyped.

Older Black women may have a difficult time finding a mentor. Some faculty members may doubt older students' seriousness of purpose or they may mistakenly believe that older students do not need as much guidance. Other faculty members may be uncomfortable mentoring women who are older than themselves. "I guess I just could not behave young and naive enough. I wanted someone I could talk with, not just someone to talk at me," said one of the respondents.

Recommendations

☐ Train counselors to evaluate and respond to the academic needs of Black women students—especially reentry students—many of whom can afford to take only a minimum number of courses.

☐ Encourage Black female students, and especially reentry students, to explore a variety of practical skills such as math proficiency and computer literacy. Jersey City State College has a series of four day-long workshops designed to assist single mothers, displaced homemakers, and other reentry women in updating skills and considering career changes and options.

☐ Work with faculty members to increase their awareness of the special views of Black women by developing workshops and discussions and disseminating materials.

Graduate Students

"What's this country going to look like in the next couple of decades if we have a population that is 55 or 60 percent non-white, and all the educated people, all the leaders are white?... We're going to have a serious sense of social dislocation...."[91]

In addition to the isolation and frustration that all undergraduates feel, graduate students often experience more subtle discrimination in their course of study. Some believe this may be one of the reasons that Blacks (both men and women) are choosing not to pursue doctorates, but to go into fields requiring only a first professional degree (such as computer science or business).[92] Still others point out that Blacks (both men and women) graduate from professional schools at only slightly higher rates than from graduate schools.[93] According to Michael Nettles of the Educational Testing Service, many

minorities are entering the work force as soon as they graduate from college. "Their undergraduate degrees in vocational areas like business administration, engineering, and health-related professions have prepared them already for careers. Up to 50 percent of undergraduates postpone or never pursue graduate education."[94]

In 1975–76, Black women earned 8.7 percent (10,975) of Master's degrees. In 1984–85 the numbers dropped to 6.1 percent (8,739) as compared to 11.3 percent for all minority women and 82.3 percent for all white women in 1984–85 (all women had a slight decrease in this area since 1974–75).

Black women earned 5.7 percent (442) of the doctorates in 1974–75, and 5.4 percent (593) of the doctorates in 1984–85. This compares to the 10.9 percent figure for all minority women and 34.1 percent for white women.[95] The doctorates awarded to Blacks (both men and women) are concentrated in education and the social sciences, with less than 2 percent each in the physical sciences, the biological and life sciences, and engineering.[96]

As mentioned earlier, historically Black colleges and universities have been successful in graduating students who go on to obtain doctorates. This is due, in large part, to the fact that they have a proven track record in hiring Blacks and offering educational and career opportunities for their students.[97] More than two-thirds of the professors and administrators in historically Black schools are Black and provide excellent role models for students.[98] A study by Marion Brazziel Associates on Black doctorate recipients from 1975 to 1980 indicated that 55 percent of the 6,320 Black doctorate recipients during that period received their baccalaureates from 87 historically Black colleges and universities.[99]

In spite of the excellent job that historically Black colleges and universities do in graduating large numbers of Black Ph.D.s (males and females), Black women still face many obstacles. The following discussion points out barriers that Black women often face–in historically Black institutions and especially in predominantly white colleges and universities–as they consider graduate degrees.

Barriers to the Graduate Degree

Black women students often do not receive encouragement from counselors and advisors to pursue graduate training. They may feel isolated on predominantly white campuses and may not get to know faculty members who can write letters of recommendation or help them secure financial assistance. A respondent to the PSEW questionnaire notes, "I was never a part of the 'in' group in my department; I never heard of the scholarships or the special programs."

Because of the nature and requirements of graduate training, a student's success is greatly affected by the type and quality of the relationships she develops both with faculty members and with other students. Such relationships are generally shaped through the close association that comes from being a research or teaching assistant. An analysis of 1985 National Research Council data found that 13 percent of Black doctoral students (men and women) reported having received teaching and research assistantships during their graduate career. The figure for all graduate students who received teaching assistantships and research assistantships is 30 percent. Eight percent of Black graduate students received teaching assistantships compared to 14 percent of all graduate students and only 5 percent of Black graduate students received research assistantships compared to 16 percent of all graduate students. These differences were especially evident in the physical sciences where 42 percent of all students were supported by research assistantships, but only 17 percent of Blacks received such awards.[100]

There is often not enough financial support available to Black female graduate students. Black women, whose average salaries are less than those of whites and Black men, are often reluctant to take out additional loans to pay for graduate education. In addition, many single parents and reentry women do not have the time or money for full-time graduate education. A respondent to the questionnaire says, "I would love to go to graduate school. But I have already borrowed from relatives to get this far; I cannot afford to go on."

Despite the number of Black women entering professional schools, they are often still viewed by others and view themselves as strangers or outsiders. For example, the Black women who participated in a pilot study of law school students' perceptions of gender bias reported that Black women volunteered in class less often than men; Black women believed that their professors often ignored or overlooked them when they did volunteer; and as a result, Black women volunteered less and less frequently.[101] A similar study conducted at Stanford University examined graduate students in the fields of science, engineering, and medical sciences: 13 percent of the respondents were minority men and women. The results showed that minority women (and women in general) were affected negatively by the sex of the advisor more often than men, had fewer responsibilities in their research groups than men, were less certain about holding academic appointments than men, published less than men, and showed less self-confidence overall than men.[102]

Black women often have their credentials tested over and over again. They must constantly fight the stigma of being perceived as an "affirmative action candidate" in graduate school. One woman at Stanford in engineering and physical sciences notes, "It was pointed out to me that I was female and a minority and otherwise would not be at Stanford. Also, [people said there was] no way I would pass qualifying exams, etc.... Several times I nearly gave up because of this."[103]

Black females have even less access than white women or minority men to informal interaction with their advisors outside the advisor-advisee relationship. Black women are less likely to be invited to lunch, to be invited to the home of the advisor, or to be engaged in casual and spontaneous conversa-

tion.[104] A graduate student responding to the PSEW questionnaire says, "It was really hard not to be hurt when my advisor would invite students (male, female, and white) out for a drink, and exclude me."

Recommendations

☐ Encourage the establishment of Black women student support groups and networks within departments and across school boundaries. Encourage Black women to join professional associations and the Black women's subcommittees and caucuses within these associations. (A listing of these groups appears at the end of this paper.) Encourage students to find out what opportunities these organizations offer Black women.

☐ Have Black women professionals visit campus and meet with Black female students.

☐ Make sure that the needs of Black female graduate students are generally integrated into overall graduate program policies. For example, Black women should be made aware of, and encouraged to apply for, resources such as research opportunities, financial aid packages, teaching and research assistantships, and mentoring opportunities.

☐ Make special efforts to form partnerships with government and business to develop financial support programs for Black female students. The McKnight Foundation and the University of Florida are working together to bring more Black students into doctoral programs. Columbia University (NY) has established a doctoral program for minority women with a grant from the U.S. Department of Education's Women's Educational Equity Act Program.[105]

☐ Establish long-range planning programs to accommodate the needs of Black women graduate students. For example, the University of Tennessee–Knoxville, with a grant from the National Institute of Education, has established a three-year program to increase the participation of women and minorities in educational research.[106]

☐ Establish core graduate courses in writing and research methods so that students can acquire or refresh their skills if necessary.

☐ Team Black female graduate students in their first term with active faculty researchers. This early mentorship will help to orient students to the graduate program as well as to prepare them for the research they will be doing.

Pre-university Students

The quality of precollegiate education is critical in determining whether Black female students go on to higher education, what kinds of institutions they attend, how they perform, and whether or not they will be able to complete their university education.[107] If Black girls are to choose careers in nontraditional fields such as math, science, computer science, and engineering, it is important that their academic and emotional preparation begin in grade school. The following are recommendations for colleges and universities interested in helping Black female students achieve at every level in the educational process.

Recommendations

☐ Establish partnerships with the elementary, middle, and secondary schools that feed students into university programs. These partnerships should be considered investments for the future of the university as well as the community.

☐ "Adopt" a school in the local area to encourage long-range planning for the presence of Black female students in college. Work with teachers at the public school to prepare prospective Black female high school and junior high students for college. Ensure that existing programs with community groups are not inadvertently excluding Black females.

☐ Involve Black girls in self-esteem building activities early in their schooling. Participating in writing and reading programs and academic competitions and sports are ways to develop a positive sense of self. Universities can sponsor such activities throughout the year or during special summer sessions.

☐ Provide pre- and in-service training sessions for teachers and administrators who work in predominantly Black primary or secondary schools. Participants should discuss the impact of racial and gender bias in the classroom, in the curriculum, and in society. For example, it is important for teachers and administrators to recognize and counteract the ways in which girls learn that it is not appropriate for them to participate in certain "male" games, courses, or occupations.

☐ Work with school counselors and teachers as they assist Black female students in understanding the relationship between their education, their future careers, and other life options.

☐ Establish specific programs to encourage Black female students to take courses in mathematics and science, beginning in elementary school and continuing through high school. Too often, girls do not take the appropriate math classes to prepare them for technical careers. The University of Kansas has established a program for grades five through nine. The University of Michigan, Mills College (CA), the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, California Polytechnic University-Pomona, and the California State University campuses of Northridge, Fullerton, and Dominguez Hills have established programs for high school girls.[108]

☐ Work with Black professional organizations and consortia to establish a research agenda on the education of Black children. The National Conference on Educating Black Children, a consortia of Black educators, administrators, and organizations, has been holding a series of conferences to plan a national education agenda. Regional university expertise could be a part of this planning.[109]

☐ Incorporate information and strategies about Black women's issues in teacher and counselor training programs.

☐ Form partnerships with community colleges in the area. Many Black women who go on to college enroll in commu-

nity colleges after they graduate from high school. University-community college partnerships could ensure that the community college experience is perceived as a bridge to the baccalaureate; if the student goes to work after acquiring an associate of arts degree, her resumption of study can be facilitated by appropriate counseling and resources. Universities and community colleges should also ensure that:

- smooth transition from the community college to the university takes place
- Black women students take advantage of financial aid packages so they can attend school full time
- child-care needs are met
- on-campus employment is available
- orientation and involvement in campus activities are encouraged
- academic support services such as women's centers and reentry centers are provided.

Conclusion

Although in some ways the climate for Black women students is similar to the climate for other women and minority men, this report demonstrates how Black women students' experiences in higher education differ greatly from other groups. They are unique as members of two underserved populations on campus. Colleges and universities wishing to attract and retain Black women students need to make the hiring of Black women faculty and administrators a top priority. When more Black women are in positions of authority and influence on campus, the environment for students will improve. Black women students will be able to count on advice and support; they will know that their concerns and interests are valued; and they will be able to look to role models for help in setting goals and nourishing hope for the future.

Professional Climate Issues

"The academy remains one of the most enduring exclusive social clubs.... The process [of tenure] is subjective, like joining a club."[110]

"I don't know about other women of color, but Black women are expected to work very hard, be very quiet, and be very grateful that they have a job. White women are expected to be just as quiet, but they do not have to work as hard or be grateful. White males can do whatever they want."[111]

"Black women faculty and administrators often bear the brunt of jokes and subtle and overt ethnic and gender insensitivities of their colleagues. Because many of them are junior they feel they have little power to change things."[112]

"As long as I did not have to be taken very seriously, there did not seem to be a problem. However, as I moved up the ladder and obtained more education, the climate cooled considerably. Perhaps I just became more savvy and recognized the covert racism more. Particularly galling is the fact that the whites who report to me are sometimes accorded more respect than I am and are able to gain access to information that I cannot. This even includes white students! I am sometimes not informed of significant events about which I should be apprised. I am also frequently seen as the person who can solve all of the problems (the 'mammy'), and all kinds of things get dumped on me. Of course, any African-American student or African student who is in trouble becomes my responsibility."[113]

Black women faculty members and administrators face numerous barriers to their growth and success in academe. Issues such as support, retention, research, teaching, and tenure are affected by the climate for Black women at both predominantly white institutions and historically Black institutions. Equally, the leadership, advocacy, and career satisfaction Black women administrators strive for are affected in subtle ways by a sometimes chilly and unwelcoming environment. To effectively recruit and retain more Black women faculty members and administrators, colleges and universities need to understand these barriers and institute policies and programs to overcome them. This section will examine the climate for Black women faculty members and administrators and recommend policies and programs to increase recruitment and retention of Black women.[114]

Between 1977 and 1986, the number of Blacks earning doctorates declined by 27 percent. Experts foresee severe shortages of minority faculty members for years to come. There has been a shift in the male/female proportions of the Black doctorate pool. After a slump in 1977, Black women substantially increased their share of the doctoral degrees.[115] In 1986, they received almost 61 percent of all doctorates awarded to Black candidates, compared to 39 percent in 1977.[116] Black women who attain doctorates tend to be older than the average student, take longer to get their degrees, are married, have parents with limited educational attainment, and are most likely to earn their doctorates in education, the social sciences, and the professions.[117]

More than 70 percent of all Blacks with doctorates are employed in academe. Blacks in general have the lowest faculty progression, retention, and tenure rates in academe, with Black women most concentrated in the lower academic ranks. Black women faculty members are also concentrated in two- and four-year colleges and universities (including historically Black schools) rather than in research universities.[118] Black women constituted 1.9 percent of full-time faculty in higher education in 1985: they made up 0.6 percent of full professors, 1.4 percent of associate professors, 2.7 percent of assistant professors, and 3 percent of instructors, lecturers, and others.[119]

Although Black women have had a rich tradition of leadership in the higher education of Blacks in the U.S., their status as administrators today is not impressive.[120] In 1985 only 3.4

percent of administrators in higher education were Black women; white women constituted 30.4 percent.[121] The majority of Black women administrators are employed on Black campuses and are generally concentrated at the lower administrative levels (below dean).[122] They are concentrated in student affairs and specialized positions, such as affirmative action officer and assistant to the president.[123] Like Black female faculty members, Black female administrators tend to be older than white female administrators, are married, and are concentrated in two-year rather than four-year institutions.[124] Twenty-two colleges and universities in the U.S. are headed by Black women.[125] Black women administrators generally earn 15 percent less than their male counterparts.[126]

Recommendations

☐ Try not to evaluate the overall climate for women on your campus on the basis of your own behavior and intentions alone; while you may be sensitive to issues of the campus climate for Black women, others may not be.

☐ Establish a departmental or unit policy stating that racist/sexist humor and comments are offensive and will not be tolerated. The department could reinforce the university policy (if one exists) and place it in a departmental handbook or code of conduct.

☐ Include Black female faculty and administrators in informal gatherings and meetings.

☐ Give faculty members and administrative colleagues, superiors, and others feedback for any efforts to create an equitable professional climate for Black women.

☐ Avoid comments that perpetuate stereotypes about Black women in professional roles. For example, do not say, "Dr. X was really bitchy because the report was late." Say instead, "She was really angry because the report was late."

☐ Assume the best when colleagues work together. Too often, interchanges between male and female colleagues are viewed as sexual liaisons, collaboration among women in general is seen as "plotting," and collaboration among Black women is seen as "separatist."

☐ Recognize comments or suggestions by Black women by responding in some way. Responses to the PSEW questionnaire suggest that some Black women believe their contributions are ignored.

Affirmative Action Dilemma

The values of the university administration and those of the faculty and staff are often in conflict over affirmative action issues; Black women get caught in the middle. For example, James E. Blackwell and William Moore, Jr., note that the attitudes of faculty members on affirmative action are highly complex and lack uniformity.[127] Blackwell states, "People are motivated by economic self-interest; hence their responses to programs like affirmative action will be dictated in large part by perceptions, real or imagined, of the threats to their own sense of economic entitlements imposed by the implementation of such programs."[128] Verbal support for affirmative action does not necessarily transform itself into support of a program or of new minority employees once they are hired. Some faculty members may believe that Black women are hired only because of affirmative action, not because of their qualifications. Black women may be stereotyped, resented, or even treated with disrespect because they are perceived as less qualified. Responses from PSEW's questionnaire bear this out. Faculty respondents note:

> "When I first came to the department, I was the 'token' needed for affirmative action purposes. Now I believe that among whites I am viewed with suspicion. I also feel some sense of competitive concern among minority men."

> "Initially I was viewed rather skeptically—as though I was an affirmative action candidate who did not deserve the job! Thus I felt the need to work twice as hard as everyone else to be accepted. Eventually I was accepted as someone who could be depended on to effectively complete assignments."

> "I was sought out to be *the* Black female hire in the department, and they never let me forget it. I am treated in a patronizing matter. Very few people in the department appreciate my perspective—even now after two years."

> "My appointment was seen as an affirmative action hire. People did not expect me to be successful. But I was. Some were actually rude enough to tell me so—thinking it was a compliment."

Double Discrimination: Racism and Sexism

"Another Black woman who again echoed others cited condescension toward Black women as a more general problem among white male faculty and administrators. She perceived the environment as a 'White male club' whose members were not really concerned about Black women. 'If you had more Blacks, if you had more women, some of these problems would eliminate themselves. . . .'"[129]

Black women not only experience the effects of racism but also those of sexism. Racism and sexism may be so fused in a given situation that it may be difficult to tell which is which. Black women faculty and administrators on historically Black campuses must also deal with the problems of sexism. As one faculty member said:

> "It is very difficult for me as a Black woman to have the issue of sexism treated as a legitimate topic by my colleagues. While they understand the interconnections of

racism and sexism at an intellectual level, at the operational level they tend to ignore it or dismiss it as not pertaining to themselves."

Black women may be ignored, isolated, or passed over in favor of less qualified people for promotions. The following are a few responses to the PSEW questionnaire by faculty members and administrators:

"I have been upset by the racist and sexist treatment that I have received from both white men and white women unable to deal with a Black woman in a position of authority. Frequently, they would attempt to go over my head or around me to keep from dealing with me."

"Black women are treated differently than Black males, especially in this setting where much male bonding goes on around the male culture of sports."

"Black men tend to fulfill the stereotype of the traditional male role in higher education. Thus they are not challenging the system to the degree that a woman's presence seems to represent. There is a tendency for white women to think they can survive in academia by being the good daughter—I've seen this work, and also not work. But this is a role closed to Black women."

"I was treated most graciously when I came to campus—many people in my department breathed a sigh of relief that they had 'gotten one.' So the pressure was off. But on the other hand, I have been insulted, treated with arrogance and a sense of superiority, especially by white males. There is a sense that I 'spoiled the party.'"

"I have had several Black women come in to see me with issues of racism and discrimination. The treatment for Black women has been and still is very different than that for Black men, white women, and other minorities or women of color. Black women are faced with racism *and* sexism. Whites are ignorant about their racist behavior... when Black women point this out, then they become the ones with the problem, often called 'too sensitive.'"

"In administration, males feel they are in a leadership role regardless of their official title. On committees, women (Black, white, or whatever) are there to do the work, the men will make the policy. I experienced the same thing from males when I was a faculty member. Men generally have a world view that devalues (all) women's perspectives."

Recommendations

☐ Especially when Black women are hired, department chairs and search committees need to ensure that others know that their search was rigorous, that the person hired has the qualifications to do the job, and to be explicit in their support of the Black woman they hired.

☐ Encourage faculty members to review curricula to make sure that racist and sexist materials are not used and that cultural diversity is promoted.[130] This sends a message to Black women and other women of color that their cultural perspectives have academic credibility and are valued.

☐ When instances of differential treatment occur, Black women faculty members and administrators may find it helpful to write down what has happened. This will help identify kinds of differential treatment, determine patterns, and distinguish between what happens to Black women as individuals and what is based on race or gender. A written record might also be useful for documenting department- or university-wide problems.

☐ Ensure that Black women on committees are not assigned stereotypical roles such as providing the food or doing all the support work for a meeting.

The "Token" Syndrome

In higher education administration, as in society, the numerically dominant group controls the academy and its culture. The small number of people from other ethnic or racial groups are often seen by the dominant group to be "tokens" and are thus treated as representatives of their group or as symbols rather than individuals.[131] Black women faculty members and administrators often find themselves in the position of being tokens. Because there are so few Black women faculty members and administrators, there is a tendency for the majority to see these women as spokespersons for all Blacks rather than as individuals with other qualifications. Black women are often asked to sit on committees as experts on Blacks, and they are asked to solve problems or handle situations having to do with racial difficulties that should be dealt with by others. There is often no reward for this extra work; in fact, Black women may be at a disadvantage when they are eligible for promotion or tenure because so much of their time has been taken up with administrative assignments. Respondents to the PSEW questionnaire offer these examples:

"When I first arrived at the university (my first professional appointment) I enjoyed the attention I received. After a short while, however, I realized that the responsibility associated with being the only Black female in my college, and only one of a handful in the university, was overwhelming. I have suffered several instances of burnout and exhaustion. As a consequence I have learned to maintain a less visible profile as a coping and survival strategy."

"Overall my treatment has been fairly positive although

stressful at times due to competing demands and dual roles and expectations. The accountability and time demands that the Black female professor encounters are especially pressing given the fact that Black women occupy even fewer academic and administrative positions than Black men. In addition to serving as a role model for the profession and the discipline, Black women must also assume the role for gender. Nobody recognizes the burden."

"Because of the paucity of Black professors at my university, I am placed in the dilemma of being all things to all Black students. Note that there are only two other females (in a university of 16,000 students), one in the school of medicine and the other in agriculture–and both...have little contact with Black students."

"White professors contribute to this problem of overwork for me because they refer Black students who are experiencing difficulties to me."

Recommendations

☐ Seek the advice of Black female faculty members in areas other than affirmative action and minority issues (for example, in the areas of their academic expertise).

☐ Give Black women credit for work done on committees or helping students.

Mentoring and Support Systems

One of the consistent themes in this report is that Black women in higher education are often viewed as "others," or "outsiders." As a result, they are rarely included in university networks. They are less likely to be shown the practical aspects of their job or receive support for their efforts. Joyce Bennett Justus, Sandra Freitag, and L. Leann Parker talk about the lack of mentors and sponsorship as a major stumbling block to the attainment of a successful academic career for women.[132]

Mentoring is especially useful early in the development of a career with senior faculty members mentoring their junior colleagues. Sponsorship is typically more useful in the later stages of a career, for example when a junior administrator wants to move up and needs a well-established senior person to promote her accomplishments both on and off the campus.[133] White males have been the usual beneficiaries of this kind of support. Many women and minority members have pointed out that the lack of collegiality in their departments or offices isolates them from professional networks, research grants, and publishers.[134] To move up the academic ladder, one depends heavily on the support of departmental colleagues. Without this sponsorship, many women and members of minority groups need to develop alternative avenues of support such as finding mentors in other departments or at other institutions.[135] Faculty respondents to the PSEW questionnaire commented:

"I have had to create a strong and well-integrated network across the nation, which means I am far from isolated, but I'm in a university where I [do not feel comfortable asking] the person next to me to go to lunch."

"I have gotten a great deal of support from Black female staff members. Although there has been some tension, my overall involvement with Black female students (both graduate and undergraduate) has been positive. These women have provided–though to a limited extent–the kind of support and encouragement system missing from my interactions with the faculty in my department."

"We have no real faculty mentoring or support programs for Black women faculty. What we need is a program similar to the one created for students. Why not a faculty mentor program for minority faculty? Why not special assistance programs, released time, research grants designed for minorities and women only?"

Black female administrators face similar situations. A respondent to the PSEW questionnaire noted:

"In my position I have been able to hire some dynamic Black women in professional positions. I have also taken the responsibility for offering to act as mentor to them. I know how lonely it was for me starting out in administration several years ago."

Recommendations

☐ Make a special effort to help newly hired Black women faculty and administrators feel welcome. For example, offer personal support, explain the formal and informal campus networks, or volunteer to be a mentor.

☐ Support formal and informal networks among Black women. Recognize that these networks often cut across traditional departmental or faculty/staff lines and may involve groups in the community such as Black women's service organizations and sororities.

Historically Black Colleges

Despite some real progress, Black women faculty members and administrators in historically Black colleges often face gender inequities.[136] From the early establishment of Black colleges more than a century ago, the behaviors of women faculty members and administrators have been a focal point of campus life.[137] Ruth N. Swann and Elaine P. Witty, in their 1980 study of Black women on historically Black campuses, noted that "Black women are both competent and secure in

dealing with men as equals, because they have been working seriously for so long."[138] Swann and Witty found that women on these campuses constituted 32 percent of full professors, 30 percent of associate professors, 39 percent of assistant professors, and 79 percent of instructors.[139]

Studies of Black women in Black institutions indicate that there are fewer women in top administrative positions.[140] Lea Williams, in her study of chief academic officers (CAOs) of private and public Black colleges and universities, found that chief academic offices were generally held by middle-aged Black males; on the average, women CAOs were slightly older and had worked in their current institutions longer than men; at public universities, female CAOs earned less than males; and at private universities, female CAOs earned more than males. None of the female CAOs surveyed aspired to the office of president and none of them was likely to be chosen as chief executive officer in the president's absence; the opposite was true for males.[141] Finally, while men and women CAOs at Black colleges have similar career paths to the top academic office, female CAOs take longer to achieve the position and, once there, have different salaries and administrative responsibilities than men.[142] Williams suggests that Black schools need to examine these inequities by looking at their policies concerning recognition and promotion as well as by examining attitudes that impede women's career progress. More research needs to be done on the quality of the campus environment and career satisfaction for both Black women faculty and staff.[143]

Woman's Worth in a Man's World

It is generally accepted in our culture that men can be powerful, assertive, ambitious, and achieving. Many people, however, are uncomfortable when Black women exhibit these traits. In view of the devalued status that Black women have in our society, the presence of Black women in positions of authority on campus is a problem for some people. For example, a faculty member talks about a white male student who came up to her after the first day of class and said, "I was ready to check out of this class when I saw you walk in as the teacher. But I sat through your class and you really know your stuff; I am going to keep the class."

Gender–especially in academic settings–influences perception and evaluation of behavior and achievement.[144] A woman's work is often not given the same credit as a man's; her accomplishments may be ignored, or conversely, scrutinized very carefully or she may be perceived as "moving too fast." Respondents to PSEW's questionnaire illustrate these points.

> "There was a devaluation of my intelligence that took place in my department. Every time I said something it was put down in a very chauvinistic way by the males. There was a sense that you are tolerated but not *accepted*."

> "I [a Black female president at a predominantly white university] was given a 'review' by the powerful local conservative newspaper. It was a true witch hunt, but they did not find anything. By the way, the paper has not done a similar review of the president [a white male] of the other regional university."

> "Management behavior that is tolerated from Black men is not tolerated from Black women. Strong Black female managers are not looked upon favorably. Black women who supervise other Black women come under particular scrutiny. This also holds true in comparison to white women."

Sexuality and Sexual Harassment

Some people relate to women in terms of their sexuality rather than as professionals.[145] For Black women, as for white women, this can lead to incidents of sexual harassment–"unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature...."[146] Some men have difficulty distinguishing between friendship and sexuality and may misread the former as a sexual overture. Some men have difficulty seeing women in anything but a sexual role and may abuse their power as faculty members or as administrators.[147] Although it is not clear how many women faculty members and administrators experience sexual harassment, a study at Harvard University found that 32 percent of the tenured faculty women there had experienced sexual harassment; 49 percent of the untenured female faculty had been sexually harassed.[148]

Because of a perceived lack of status and power, minority women in general–and Black women in particular–are especially likely to be treated in a superficial manner or viewed in terms of their sexuality by both white and minority men. This can result in sexual harassment, social distancing, and a lack of collegiality.[149] The only praise some Black women receive may be for their attractiveness–not their achievement. The respondents to PSEW's questionnaire offer some examples:

> "One of my white colleagues used to tell me how nice I looked all the time. Maybe it was his way of paying me a compliment. But it made me feel as though he did not care about my contributions to the department."

> "I had one faculty member who used to try to ingratiate himself with me by putting his arms around me; maybe he really thought that I would give him what he wanted if he told me how nice I looked. I also noticed that it was his behavior with all women."

> "The most frustrating experience is working with Black males who refuse to see the chauvinism and subtle ha-

rassment in their interaction with Black women. Because these men are Black, this experience is even more upsetting."

The senior vice president and provost commented positively on my dress on several occasions, and there had been a brief discussion about where I shopped. Later when I requested funds from him to go to an international conference to present a paper, his response to my request was, 'If you didn't buy so many clothes, you would have money to travel.' Although I was given the money to make the trip, the comment was certainly out of order."

Balancing Competing Obligations

Another obstacle for both Black women faculty members and administrators is the tug of war they experience in trying to balance professional with family and community responsibilities.[150] Black women have a long tradition of managing family, work, and community responsibilities; however, like white women, they do it at a cost.[151]

Black women tend to engage in more teaching, counseling of students, and committee work than do white males. As a result, they may do less research and write fewer publications than their white male or female counterparts. This presents a dilemma for faculty members and administrators who want to pursue an academic career. The dilemmas are clearly expressed in these responses to the PSEW questionnaire:

"To have civic consciousness and involvement, to have a family, to teach with social responsibility and vision, to pursue socially pertinent research and writing, to actively render service to one's profession—to do all of these things would be to be a *whole*, multifaceted, well-rounded person. However, in light of the imbalances in academia (e.g., the focus on publications at the expense of teaching integrity), to do all of the above is to risk chronic burnout and frustration. I am still learning how to reach a comfortable balance. But if I do, it will be because of my own drive and convictions rather than because of any support from the university."

"Black females who are successful—who are able to 'do it all'—are penalized at times by other Black females. [They must] continually demonstrate that they haven't lost their roots, their commitment to ethnic issues and causes, and that they don't think they are 'better' because they are professionals."

"Black women scholar/teachers who are also mothers and wives have a very difficult time. The standards, demands, and pressures of academic work reflect 'Yuppie' value orientations, and they are androcentric to boot! To remain competitive in the Ph.D. academic market... often translates into sacrificing family, personal life, etc. for career development (particularly with the 'publish or perish' syndrome of research universities)."

"There is subtle discrimination and disadvantages that affect Black women during childbearing years. Beyond the problems related to race, I find that being a mother of small children puts me at a professional disadvantage because the standards and expectations [of the academy] do not reflect or respect the realities of a parent/professional. Maternity benefits and leaves need to be adjusted for faculty who cannot afford to be penalized (monetarily or in terms of promotions) for having a baby."

One solution to this problem of balance may be heightened institutional recognition of the value of extra work in the academic community. A publication by Joyce Bennett Justus and others calls for redefining traditional notions of productivity so that teaching, counseling, community work, and advising are weighed more heavily in the promotion and tenure processes.[152]

Collegiality Among Faculty

One of the best sources of support that faculty members can get is the respect and validation of their peers. Collegiality fosters a sense of community as well as an atmosphere of creativity where people can share ideas, collaborate, and generally benefit from working together. For many Black women, especially those on predominantly white campuses, this essential ingredient is missing from their professional experiences. Because of stereotypes based on racist and sexist attitudes, Black women's contributions to their departments are not always recognized or valued. Black women respondents to the PSEW questionnaire talk about the ways in which they have been excluded from the academy:

"Beyond the collegiality expressed by a few faculty members, I am invisible except for the important role that I play as a documentary, legitimizing category for affirmative action purposes. Faculty whose specialties are similar to my own (outside my department) rarely seek me out for exchanges or for participation in symposia, etc. I work pretty much in isolation, dependent upon extra-university cross-fertilization and moral support."

"I have had to deal with all kinds of hostile situations—including white male bullies who glare, stomp, and slam doors when they're angry."

"When I came to the university in 1984, I was generally amazed at the callous, arrogant, and disrespectful way

the white staff spoke to me. I assumed they had no 'home training' in manners or were just not used to addressing Black women in a professional manner. Now, I understand that they pick up their cues from their administrative superiors."

Some Black women at both historically Black and predominantly white schools report feelings of neglect, ostracism, and isolation. A professor in a predominantly male department at a public, coeducational, historically Black college says:

"I have been in this department for a long time and it is very male oriented. They do most of the committee work and write most of the joint proposals. Usually the women, including myself, are not invited to participate. Also, all other opportunities are usually awarded by the department chairman or the dean to men in the department. I have turned to 'hard' teaching and writing and research on my own. Having these outlets has enabled me to get along with the men and keeps them from being threatened."

Recommendations

☐ Male and white female faculty members and administrators need to examine their behavior to determine whether they seek out, interact with, and include Black women colleagues in informal activities.

☐ Black women on campus can seek out informal contacts by inviting people to lunch or arriving early at meetings to talk to people who can be helpful. The Urban League, sororities, or social clubs may provide ties not found on campus.

Research, Teaching, and Tenure

"Because of the small representation [of Blacks in full-time faculty positions], scholarship on issues germane to Blacks is often judged by their white colleagues. Too often, say many minority faculty members, those colleagues are conservative and unappreciative of nontraditional subjects or nontraditional views."[153]

Black women tend not to be included in collaborative research projects with their peers; they lack sponsorship and therefore have less access to sources for research.[154] Jackie Mitchell also talks about the problem of having research trivialized and devalued if it focuses on Black issues or issues of a social, activist nature.[155] She further notes that a successful academic career is "the product of not only the intelligence and ability to do outstanding scholarship, but also of ambition, dedication, hard work, circumstances that foster an orientation toward scholarship, and acceptance into a small fraternity of scholars."[156] Black women have a difficult time winning that acceptance, especially in predominantly white colleges and universities. Some examples from respondents to the PSEW questionnaire:

"I have been left alone to do my thing; I have been given a moderate amount of research support but nobody is really interested in the work I am doing."

"...there is still the tendency either to criticize my research efforts or believe that ethnic professional associations, conferences, and workshops are not as worthy as predominantly non-ethnic ones."

"I have gotten a lot of criticism about the fact that I am doing research [on social issues that affect Black women in a cross-cultural context] that is not rigorous or relevant to the thrust of the department."

"I have survived because I do two sets of research: one on Black women's issues, and one that is mainstreamed within my profession. It is the only way I will have legitimacy when tenure time comes."

Typically, minority men and all women spend a higher proportion of their time teaching and advising rather than engaging in original research. This happens in part because they are clustered in two- and four-year colleges rather than in research institutions.[157] Many women who responded to the PSEW questionnaire stated that teaching was one of the most rewarding experiences of their professional careers. Here are some examples:

"My students, especially my Black students, appreciate my presence and my perspective. I really enjoy the teaching that I do."

"My only consistently positive experiences have been my relationships with students. This university has a primarily working-class student body, and I identify with those students. I also work in several programs that allow me to interact with the relatively small minority population."

Some faculty members expressed conflict in their teaching experiences:

"On several occasions I have had Black students become upset when they expected special treatment from me in class—and they did not get it. I told them I would work with them one-on-one but that there would be no special favors."

"I find that students (mostly white) seem to resist the intellectual and pedagogical authority of a *Black female* professor."

James E. Blackwell and others discuss the reasons for the low numbers of Blacks (men and women) who receive tenure and the time compared to the time it takes for white males, white

females, and other ethnic/racial groups to receive tenure.[155] Black women also face distinct disadvantages as "outsiders" who want to join the club. The following responses from the PSEW questionnaire show that, like Black males, other people of color, and white women, it is not easy for these Black women to get tenure.

> "When I first came up for tenure, my effort was met with opposition on many fronts. I clearly got the sense that I was stepping out of my 'place,' or the place that others had assigned to me in their minds. This was very upsetting. I don't think that I have unduly high expectations for collegial relationships, but I do want to be given the rewards I've earned. I guess this was an opportunity to mourn the fact that my professional relationship with my colleagues is limited because people cannot cope with who I am."

> "Service contributions are not weighed heavily in merit and promotion decisions at my university since it is regarded as a research institution. As a consequence, the multiple roles that Black female professors like myself are forced to maintain and the university/ethnic/gender service obligations that we are required to fulfill erode sacred research time."

Recommendations

☐ Encourage departments to sponsor workshops, colloquia, and conferences on research issues relevant to Black women's lives. Cosponsor these events with Black studies and women's studies departments on campus or with departments at other universities in the area. Ohio State University holds annual conferences on issues relevant to the Black experience; the University of Massachusetts–Amherst sponsored a conference on Black women and the vote in February 1988.

☐ Give personal and institutional support to scholarship on Black women. Publicly recognize and promote Black women's studies and invite Black women scholars to campus as visiting professors, consultants, guest lecturers, and curriculum specialists.

☐ Encourage and support faculty members who are interested in research on the intersection of race, class, and gender to affiliate with local or regional women's research centers. (See the section of this paper that lists research and resource centers for examples.)

☐ Include in merit and promotion deliberations Black women's service contributions made to the university, to students, and to the community.

Retention

The recruitment and retention of Black women faculty members is critical not only to the careers of the women themselves but is key to successful recruitment and retention of Black women students. Some university administrators have stepped up efforts to recruit, hire, and grant tenure to Black female faculty members in greater numbers. Until top administrators are more effective in ensuring job satisfaction and an environment free from hostility, arrogance, and devaluation of diversity, however, Black women may choose not to enter or remain in academia. There is already some indication that, as a group, Blacks are beginning to avoid careers in academia.[156] By offering more money and better working conditions, business and private industry may be claiming the best and the brightest Black students.

Despite a demonstrably chilly climate on many campuses, many Black women enjoy their jobs in academe. Respondents to the PSEW questionnaire, for example, find many aspects of their experiences quite positive:

> "A new department chair has asked me to put some of my thinking into practice. This way I can work to help the institution be more sensitive to the needs of women and people of color."

> "I have received some significant rewards (for example, I was selected as an 'administrative fellow,' I was chosen to serve as acting dean, and I have been elected chair of several committees)."

> "Once accepted…I have been treated fairly well by other faculty and administrators (for example, I have gotten release time privileges and I have gotten respect for my ideas)."

> "Usually the dean of the college will give me money to travel to conferences or to put on a conference here. Also, the vice president for academic affairs (a woman) financially supports my projects. The affirmative action officer and the faculty union representatives also are helpful."

> "My immediate colleagues seem to respect me as a person *and* as a professional. I have their moral support."

Other Black female faculty members recognize the existence of racism, but feel that the good aspects of their position outweigh the bad:

> "Yes, I am staying here. I have a great job and good colleagues. I do what I want for the most part. I also have some racist, vicious colleagues, but the good outweighs the bad most of the time."

> "I plan to stay here because this is a major city where I can live comfortably as a Black female professional. I have a good teaching situation; good colleagues in my field; and an opportunity to work with a center with a

national reputation. I think I recognize that racism and sexism are everywhere; thus I have no illusion of seeking a place where they do not exist."

Recommendations for Recruitment and Retention

☐ Devise creative strategies to locate and attract Black female candidates. Contact minority colleagues to ask for nominations. Contact Black female professional organizations and academic associations (such as the Association of Black Women in Higher Education) or organizations that have an interest in Black women's advancement (such as the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors or the National Women's Studies Association).

☐ Form links with historically Black institutions to exchange information on Black female candidates.

☐ Invoke all of the strategies for recruiting Black women faculty members and administrators that you would for any other "hard-to-hire" candidates. Offer salary incentives and other perquisites to attract Black women.

☐ Familiarize search committees with ways that they might be devaluing Black women candidates. Develop guidelines to ensure that all candidates are treated equally in the interview process.[160]

☐ Conduct exit interviews with Black women candidates who are not hired to determine how they were treated in introductions, interviewing, and presentations.[161]

☐ Establish working relationships with colleges and universities that graduate high numbers of Black female students. These institutions can provide a pool of potential graduate students, faculty members, and administrators. Such efforts also will demonstrate concern for the professional development of Black women.

☐ Make scholarships, fellowships, and research opportunities readily available to Black women faculty members. Publicize programs such as the National Science Foundation Visiting Professorships for Women, Fulbright Study Abroad Program, and the National Research Council Doctoral or Postdoctoral Research Fellowships.

☐ Form task forces or committees to examine departmental or college policies (such as criteria for office assignments or committee memberships) to make sure that Black women, who often are junior faculty members, are not treated unfairly. Recognition awards can be established for junior faculty members so that recognition is not solely reserved for senior faculty members, who most often are white and male.

☐ Establish guidelines for all new faculty members so that women and minorities who are often excluded from informal information sharing can know what is expected of them as they prepare for tenure. Faculty members should be encouraged to locate and work with sympathetic and supportive senior faculty mentors who understand both the formal and informal structures of the university and the department.

☐ Keep data concerning tenure rates by race and sex so that disparities can be identified.

Leadership and Advocacy: Critical Skills

"If there are no people of color—if there are no women—on the president's or chancellor's executive team, no amount of rhetoric will obscure this deficiency. People in organizations not only listen to whatever leaders say, they watch clearly what is done."[162]

The ability to lead is perhaps the primary quality of an administrator. A review of the literature on Black women administrators by Patricia A. Harvard lists three major barriers to women seeking and maintaining administrative positions:

- sex role stereotypes
- organizational barriers
- internalization of traditional female behaviors.

Harvard found that successful administrators had obtained their doctorates and were described as committed, independent, dominant, active, adventurous, sensitive, secure, and self-confident.[164] Other researchers point out other important qualities of successful leadership such as self-confidence, technical and interpersonal skills, awareness of organizational attitudes, and conforming to the culture; having mentors both inside and outside the university is also important.[165]

Having achieved their goals, many Black women administrators in positions of leadership find that while they may have the title and the responsibility they often do not have the authority or the backing they need to make decisions or implement their ideas. They may be undercut by colleagues as well as superiors. When asked about their reception as leaders, the administrators in our survey talked about the problems of nonrecognition of their power and authority:

> "I feel that I am unwittingly used to validate personal and institutional racism. It took me a while to discover that I was being 'set up' to fail. In meetings that I am not chairing, my remarks are sometimes treated as trivial and unworthy of further discussion. There have also been times people have gone behind my back when I was away from campus and attempted to change the direction of projects for which I was responsible."

> "My [opportunity for] leadership is lessened because I am frequently not included in activities (for example, meetings and conferences where I have direct responsibility). I often receive information secondhand.... "

> "I have been upset when I have not been consulted about major decisions that affect my area of responsibility, or when decisions are made that will reflect back on me."

Do women and minorities move into leadership positions and maintain the status quo or do they advocate change? Black women, as mentioned earlier in this paper, have a long history of educational advocacy and activism. Black women's responses to PSEW's questionnaire regarding the most positive

aspects of their jobs show an active involvement in their students' lives and an optimism about the potential for change. An associate vice president of student affairs talks about a larger goal:

> "In addition to my regular work, I enjoy working with students. I enjoy introducing them to the Black perspective and to the women's perspective. Seeing females (especially minority ones) grow and develop in all areas of their lives is such a reward for me."

An associate dean talks about working with students to change their outlook:

> "I have enjoyed working with and counseling students over the years, and helping to fight against racism and sexism."

Many of the women who responded to the PSEW questionnaire are very comfortable talking about their plans for change. They see their positions in higher education administration as one of the major ways to effect change in their students' lives and ultimately in society.

Conclusion

The issues and examples in this paper demonstrate clearly that Black women students, faculty members, and administrators do not perceive themselves and their concerns as integrated into the missions, goals, and social structures of college campuses. The job of integration is not one that Black women can or should tackle alone; it will take the hard work of many members of the academic community. It must be done if we are to encourage Black women students in this country to pursue higher education and professional careers as faculty members or administrators in academia.

General Policy Recommendations

☐ Collect, on a regular basis, anecdotal and statistical data by race, sex, and age, covering such areas as salary, benefits, promotions, perquisites, awards, grants, course loads, advising loads, committee assignments, and so on. Use this data to determine whether Black women of all ranks and within all departments are treated equitably with regard to responsibilities and rewards. Such reports should include data about Black women who are part-time and temporary faculty members, visiting lecturers, and postdoctoral students.

☐ Break down all institutional research data by sex within categories of race/ethnicity. The tendency to aggregate minorities into racial/ethnic groups while ignoring sex differences within these groups can obscure information which could have implications for enrollment, retention, degree attainment, and hiring and promotion.

☐ Ensure that all efforts to improve the climate for women recognize the special concerns of Black women. All members of campus communities at predominantly white colleges need to be aware of the impact of double discrimination—racism and sexism—on Black female students, faculty members, staff members, and administrators. Workshops, guest lectures, and academic courses should reinforce the message that the cultural diversity that Black women bring to campus is valued.

☐ Include Black women faculty members, administrators, staff members, and students, when appropriate, in the planning of educational policies for the university.

☐ Develop a campus-wide policy specifically on racial harassment. The policy should broadly define racial harassment, provide for both informal procedures and counseling, and specify grievance procedures; it also should provide a list of the range of sanctions that may be imposed on offending employees or students. Include racial/sexual harassment of Black women.

☐ Provide ongoing consciousness-raising programs on minority and women's issues for all university personnel. Black women and other women of color should be included in the development and implementation of racial awareness programs. The Universities of Toledo and Delaware have developed workshops to combat harassment that is based on sex and race. The University of Iowa Women's Resource and Action Center has developed a multiracial committee to combat racism in the women's community and sexism within the Black community.

☐ Ensure that campus sexual harassment policies contain specific language that includes Black women and other women of color. Emphasize the moral as well as legal obligation to establish and implement such policies.

☐ Ensure that Black women and other women of color are represented on governing boards. Support their efforts to examine racial and sexual climate issues.

☐ Establish comprehensive policies that will provide for long-range planning, goal-setting, and project implementation to ensure that Black women and other women of color stay in school from high school to college or university. This is especially important in preparing Black female students for careers in math, science, engineering, and computer science—where preparation must begin before high school.

☐ Establish a university policy stating that all official publications should reflect the presence and contributions of Black women and other women of color in both visual and textual materials.

☐ Establish policies and set timetables to increase the number of Black women students and professionals on campus. The policies should identify administrators who will be responsible for implementing, monitoring and evaluating these policies.

☐ Ensure that Black women faculty members and administrators are included on recruitment teams or public relations teams for the university. Black women should be visible and should serve in a wide variety of jobs on campus. These extra

responsibilities for Black women should be acknowledged and rewarded by promotion and tenure committees.

☐ Ensure that campus support services meet the needs of Black women, including child-care facilities, maternity and parental leave, and flexibility in tenure time frames.[165]

☐ Integrate diverse cultural perspectives into the curriculum at all levels of the university.

☐ Work with Black community organizations to help support regional conferences, workshops, and seminars dealing with Black women's issues. For example, Ohio State University's Department of Black Studies sponsored a conference in 1988 called "The Black Woman." Sponsorship of these kinds of conferences sends a message to Black women students and professionals and to the rest of the academic community that Black women's issues are important.

☐ Work with special alumni associations such as the National Black Alumni Association (see listing in the section on selected organizations) to establish networking relationships between Black female alumnae and Black female students. This can help Black female students get feedback, find mentors, and make job contacts.

☐ Establish a distinguished visiting scholar series focusing specifically on Black women and other women of color. Include Black women in the planning of this series.

☐ Recognize the achievements of Black women by awarding honorary degrees or visiting professorships. Endowing a chair or lecture series is one way to recognize Black women's accomplishments.

☐ Foster mentoring opportunities for Black women students and professionals. Offer incentives such as released time or extra research money for those willing to be mentors. Mentors for Black women may not always be found on campus; institutions need to develop extensive community ties as well.

☐ Encourage the development and growth of Black women's studies courses and other programs about Black women. There is a growing body of scholarship on Black women not always included in traditional Black studies programs or in women's studies programs that needs to be incorporated into the curriculum.

Recommendations for Professional Associations and Organizations

☐ Incorporate issues concerning the climate for Black women into all activities and programs (such as speeches and sessions at annual and other meetings, in publications, campus consultations, award programs, and so on). For example, the Association of American Colleges has devoted sessions of its annual meetings, as well as special meetings, to climate issues; several conferences of the National Women's Studies Association have focused on women of color.[166]

☐ Sponsor administrative internships and other programs to encourage and promote women for leadership roles. For example, the American Council on Education's Office of Women in Higher Education sponsors a national identification program that makes special outreach efforts to Black women; the California State University System has an administrative fellowship program that focuses on leadership training of women and minorities; the American Sociological Association sponsors a minority fellowship program and encourages Black women to apply.

☐ Identify and collaborate with other associations to sponsor conferences, workshops, and research to improve the professional climate for women.

☐ Conduct multi-institutional surveys on issues of the climate for Black women and other women of color. Such surveys are conducted on a regular basis by the University of California, the Women's Council of the California State University, the University of Wisconsin System, and the Great Lakes Colleges Association.

☐ Stimulate research on issues relating to the professional climate for Black women by calling for papers in this area and providing a forum for dissemination of these papers (either in writing or through oral presentation).

☐ Stimulate research on issues relating to the numbers of Black women and other persons of color in the institution by doing a self-study and setting short- and long-range goals. For example, the National Association of Schools of Public Administration conducted a survey of its membership on such issues as job satisfaction and climate. The association is establishing goals and objectives based on the survey responses to achieve the diversity they desire.

☐ Encourage professional women's organizations, both local and national, to profile and publicize Black women faculty members and administrators who are members of professional women's organizations. Show support for accomplishments of these women.

NOTES

1. Deborah Carter, Carol Pearson, and Donna Shavlik, "Double Jeopardy: Women of Color in Higher Education," *Educational Record* 68, 69 (Fall 1987/Winter 1988): 98.

2. While this paper does not specifically mention Black women staff members (i.e., secretaries, clerical workers, custodians, and others), several of the problems discussed and issues raised for Black women students, faculty members, and administrators pertain to Black staff members on college and university campuses across the country. Specifically, these problems include stereotyping, disrespect, isolation, and lack of support networks.

3. For an overview of research on Black students, see Walter Allen, *Gender and Race Differences in Black Student Academic Performance, Racial Attitudes, and College Satisfaction* (Atlanta: Southern Education Foundation, 1986), 71–84; Jacqueline Fleming, *Blacks in College: A Comparative Study of Student's Success in Black and White Institutions* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984); and Doris Wilkinson, *A Profile of the Nation's Resources: The Academic Missions and Cultures of Traditionally Black Colleges and Universities* (Submitted to the National Research Council, National Science Foundation, September 1987).

For an overview of research on faculty, see James E. Blackwell, "Faculty Issues Affecting Minorities in Education," *From Access to Achievement: Strategies for Urban Institutions: Proceedings from a National Invitational Conference*, ed. Richard C. Richardson, Jr., and Alfredo G. de los Santos, Jr. (Washington, DC: National Center for Postsecondary Governance and

Finance, 1988), 165–198; Joyce Bennett Justus et al., *The University of California in the 21st Century: Successful Approaches to Faculty Diversity* (Berkeley, CA: The University of California, 1987); McLean Tobin, *The Black Female Ph.D.: Education and Career Development* (St. Louis, MO: Washington University Press of America, 1981); William H. Trent et al., "Making It to the Top: Women and Minority Faculty in the Academic Labor Market," *American Behavioral Scientist* 27 (January/February 1984): 301–324; and William Moore, Jr., and Lionel Wagstaff, "The Black Woman in Higher Education," *Black Educators in White Colleges* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974).

For an overview of research on Black women administrators, see Ruth N. Swann and Elaine P. Witty, "Black Women Administrators at Traditionally Black Colleges and Universities: Attitudes, Perceptions, and Potentials," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 4 (Winter 1980): 261–270; Constance M. Carroll, "Three's a Crowd: The Dilemma of Black Women in Higher Education," *All the Women Are White, All the Men are Black, But Some of Us are Brave: Black Women's Studies*, ed. Patricia Bell-Scott, Gloria Hull, and Barbara Smith (New York: The Feminist Press, 1982), 115–121; Myrtis Hall Mosley, "Black Women Administrators in Higher Education: An Endangered Species," *Journal of Black Studies* 10 (March 1980): 295–310; and Lea E. Williams, "Chief Academic Officers at Black Colleges and Universities: A Comparison By Gender," *Journal of Negro Education* 55 (Fall 1986): 443–452.

4. An eleven-item, open-ended questionnaire was sent out to approximately eighty Black women students, faculty members, and administrators in spring 1988. The sample included women from public, private, historically Black, and predominantly white colleges and universities across the country. There was a 50 percent response rate to the survey.

5. Carter, Pearson, and Shavlik, "Double Jeopardy," 99–100; Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Patricia Bell-Scott, "Finding A Way: Black Women Students and the Academy," *Educating the Majority: Women Challenge Tradition in Higher Education*, ACE/Macmillan Series in Higher Education, ed. Carol Pearson, Donna Shavlik, and Judy Touchton (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1989).

6. *The New Agenda of Women for Higher Education* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education (ACE), 1987); *Minorities on Campus: A Handbook for Enhancing Diversity* (Washington, DC: ACE, 1989); *One Third of a Nation: A Report on the Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life* (Washington, DC: ACE Education Commission of the States, 1987); *From Access to Achievement: Strategies for Urban Institutions* (Washington, DC: National Center for Postsecondary Governance and Finance, 1988).

7. *Toward Equity: Final Report of the University of Virginia Task Force on the Status of Women* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, April 1988).

8. U.S. Department of Education Center for Education Statistics, *Trends in Minority Enrollment in Higher Education, Fall 1976–Fall 1986* (Washington, DC: Office of Educational Research and Improvement, April 1988).

9. *1987 Status Report on Minorities in Education*, American Council on Education, referenced in Gary Orfield and Faith Paul, "Decline in Minority Access: A Tale of Five Cities," *Educational Record* 68, 69 (Fall 1987/Winter 1988): 62.

10. "Total Doctorate Degrees by Race/Ethnicity for Selected Years," chart in William F. Brazziel, "Road Blocks to Graduate School: Black Americans Are Not Achieving Parity," *Educational Record* 68, 69 (Fall 1987/Winter 1988): 111.

11. Allen, *Gender and Campus Race Differences*, and Fleming, *Blacks in College*.

12. Doris J. Wright, *Responding to the Needs of Today's Minority Students* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1987): 16.

13. Fleming, *Blacks in College*, 144.

14. Joseph Katz, "White Faculty Struggling with the Effects of Racism," *Teaching Minority Students*, ed. J. H. Cones III, J. F. Noonan, and D. Janha (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1983), 36.

15. Jacqueline Fleming, quoted in *Blacks in Higher Education*, 15 March 1988, 8.

16. Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?* (Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges' Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1982).

17. *Ibid.*, 3.

18. Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *Out of the Classroom: A Chilly Campus Climate for Women* (Washington, DC: AAC/PSEW, 1984).

19. *Ibid.*, 11.

20. Hall and Sandler, *The Classroom Climate*, 4.

21. Hall and Sandler, *Out of the Classroom*, 11.

22. *Ibid.*

23. Julianne M. Malveaux, "Black Women on White Campuses," *Essence* (August 1980): 130.

24. *Newsweek on Campus* poll, 1987, referenced in *Educational Record* 68, 69 (Fall 1987/Winter 1988): 76.

25. Charles S. Farrell, "Black Students Seen Facing 'New Racism' on Many Campuses," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 27 January 1988, A1.

26. Katz, "White Faculty Struggling with the Effects of Racism," 31.

27. Jacqueline Fleming, "Declining Black Enrollment," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 15 March 1988, 8.

28. George Marwell, "Racist Epidemic Isn't What It Seems," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 1 July 1988, 14.

29. Steve Carwood, "Racial Attacks on Campus Reflects Politics, Some Charge," *Miami Herald*, 24 December 1986, 2A.

30. Richard Bernstein, "Black and White on Campus: Learning Tolerance, Not Love, and Separately," *Washington Post*, 26 May 1988.

31. "Professor Suspended for Alleged Racial Slur," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 13 April 1988, A2.

32. Carolyn Lumsden, "Race Tensions Smolder in College Community," *Washington Post*, 12 November 1986.

33. Michael Rezendes, "Campus Minorities: Confronting Racism With Mature Methods," *Washington Post*, 19 April 1988, A3.

34. "Fraternity Suspended for Slur in Yearbook," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 27 July 1988.

35. Margaret Wilkerson, quoted in Charles S. Farrell, "Black Students Seen Facing 'New Racism' on Many Campuses."

36. Jacqueline Fleming, quoted in Eileen M. O'Brien, "Causes, Solutions to Declining Black Enrollment Discussed at National Conference," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 15 March 1988, 9.

37. Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Patricia Bell-Scott, quoted in Carter, Pearson, and Shavlik, "Double Jeopardy," 99.

38. Bell-Scott, Hull, and Smith, *All the Women Are White*, xvii–xxxi. For more information on the status of Black women's studies, see Beverly Guy-Sheftall and Patricia Bell-Scott, "Black Women's Studies: A View from the Margin," *Educating the Majority: Women Challenge Tradition in Higher Education*, ed. Carol S. Pearson, Donna L. Shavlik, and Judith G. Touchton (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company and American Council on Education, 1989).

39. Eileen M. O'Brien, "University of Texas Radio Show Host Educates America About 'In Black America,'" *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 1 June 1988, 2.

40. *The Racial Climate on the MIT Campus: A Report of the Minority Issues Group* (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1986), 12. For more information, contact Shirley Bay, Chair, Office of Minority Issues Group, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 77 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139.

41. *Ibid.*, 10.

42. Kamili Anderson, "Minority Graduate Education Committee Reports Comprehensive Findings," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 1 June 1988, 14, 16.

43. Joyce N. Payne, "The Role of Black Colleges in an Expanding Economy" *Educational Record* 68, 69 (Fall 1987/Winter 1988): 104–105.

44. Michael Nettles quoted in Frank Matthews, "ETS's Michael Nettles on the SAT, Secondary Preparation, College Selection, and Retention," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 15 February 1988, 7.

45. Fleming, *Blacks in College*, 148.

46. "Racial Climate on the MIT Campus," 1–18.

47. Sue E. Berryman, *Who Will Do Science? Trends and Their Causes in Minority and Female Representation Among Holders of Advanced Degrees in Science and Mathematics* (New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1983), 17. This report looks at the effects of race and gender separately. Also see "Middle School Years Critical for Female and Minority Students in Math, Science, and Computer Science," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 1 November 1986, 13.

48. Catherine Jobe, "Bryn Mawr Promotes Science Study for Minority Women," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 1 November 1987, 13, 14. Also see "NASA Launches Women in Science and Engineering Program at Spelman," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 15 October 1987, 7.

49. *Ibid.*

50. Hall and Sandler, *Out of the Classroom*, 11.
51. *Toward Equity*, Appendix C3.
52. Fleming, *Blacks in College*, 148.
53. *Ibid.*, 146–148; see also Allen, *Gender and Race Differences*, 11–13; and Elizabeth Higgenbotham, *The Ongoing Struggle: Education and Mobility for Black Women* (Memphis: Center for Research on Women, Memphis State University, 1987), 19.
54. Michelle N-K Collins, "More Young Black Men Choosing Not to Go to College," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 19 December 1987, A6.
55. Allen, *Gender and Race Differences*, 34; and Doris Wilkinson, *Black Male/White Female: Perspectives on Interracial Marriage and Courtship* (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1975), 5–10.
56. Malveaux, "Black Women on White Campuses," 130.
57. Conversation with Gwen Purvear Keita, former counselor and researcher, Howard University; July 18, 1988.
58. Margaret Edds, "The Sorority Behind Black Feminism," review of *In Search of Sisterhood: Delta Sigma Theta and the Challenge of the Black Sorority Movement*, by Paula Giddings, *Los Angeles Times*, 31 July 1988.
59. *Ibid.*
60. Hall and Sandler, *Out of the Classroom*, 11.
61. For more information, contact M. Constance Sherin, Director of the Gateway Program, Chatham College, Pittsburgh, PA 15232.
62. Wright, "Responding to the Needs of Today's Minority Students," 1.
63. James Anderson, quoted in "Idealism vs. Realism," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 15 February 1988, 21.
64. Eileen O'Brien, "College Recruitment," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 15 February 1988, 15.
65. Eileen M. O'Brien, "Causes, Solutions to Declining Black Enrollment Discussed at National Conference," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 15 March 1988, 8.
66. *Ibid.*, 9.
67. For a more detailed discussion of the literature on drop-outs, see Peggy Ann Brown, *Helping Minorities Succeed* (Washington DC: AAC, 1985); Richard C. Richardson, Jr., H. Simmons, and Alfredo G. de los Santos, Jr., "Graduating Minority Students," *Change* (May/June 1987): 20–27; and V. Tinto, "Limits of Theory and Practice in Student Attrition," *Journal of Higher Education* 53 (November/December, 1987): 687–700.
68. Beatriz C. Clewell and Myra S. Ficklen, *Improving Minority Retention in Higher Education: A Search for Effective Institutional Practices* (Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service, 1986), 3.
69. Michael Nettles quoted in Matthews, "ETS's Michael Nettles on the SAT," 7.
70. Clewell and Ficklen, *Improving Minority Retention*, 39–55.
71. For more information, contact Donna Shalala, President, University of Wisconsin–Madison, Madison, WI 53706.
72. Higgenbotham, *The Ongoing Struggle*, 26.
73. Michael Nettles, *Financial Aid and Minority Participation in Graduate Education* (Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service, 1987), 4.
74. *Ibid.*
75. Hall and Sandler, *Out of the Classroom*, 6.
76. *Ibid.*, 6–7.
77. Julianne M. Malveaux and Margaret C. Simms, *Between the Cracks: Black Women and Economic Development* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1986).
78. Hall and Sandler, *Out of the Classroom*, 4.
79. Nettles, *Financial Aid and Minority Participation*, 3–6.
80. See *The Final Report of the Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities* (Los Angeles: The Higher Education Institute, 1982), 30–31.
81. Civil rights and feminist groups are urging the National Merit Scholarship Corporation Board to change its use of the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), which some consider biased on the basis of gender, race, and family income. These groups are urging schools and colleges who use the test to look for alternative award procedures. Of the current Merit Awards, nearly two-thirds go to males even though females earn higher grades in high school. For more information on this issue, contact the National Center for Fair and Open Testing, Box 1212, Harvard Square Station, Cambridge, MA 02238.
82. For more information, contact Carol Guze or Kenneth Gash, PACE Program, California State University–Dominguez Hills, Carson, CA 94707.
83. David Wilson, *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 1 February 1988, 13.
84. For a discussion of the needs of reentry and older Black women students, see Mildred Dalton Henry, "Black Reentry Females: Their Concerns and Needs," *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors* 48 (Summer 1985): 5–10; *The Road Retaken: Women Reenter the Academy*, ed. Irene Thompson and Audrey Roberts (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1985); and Roberta M. Hall and Francelia D. Gleaves, *Reentry Women: Special Programs for Special Populations* (Washington, DC: AAC/PSEW, 1981).
85. For a discussion of mentoring, see Eileen O'Brien, "Dr. Charles Willie Prescribes Mentoring Methodologies for Minorities," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 15 May 1988, 15; Maria T. Galo, "Mentoring Critical for Graduate Retention," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 15 May 1988, 17; and Charles Devaries, "Support Programs Key to Minority Success at Private Southern Universities," *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 15 May 1988.
86. Roberta M. Hall and Bernice R. Sandler, *Academic Mentoring for Women Students and Faculty: A New Look At An Old Way to Get Ahead* (Washington, DC: AAC/PSEW, 1983), 3.
87. *Ibid.*, 7.
88. Report of participants in Hunter College's Women's Career Development Research Collective (unpublished paper, Spring 1988).
89. O'Brien, "Dr. Charles Willie Prescribes Mentoring," 15.
90. Herbert Exum, quoted in Galo, "Mentoring Critical for Graduate Retention," 17.
91. Michele W. Zak quoted in Scott Heller, "Women Flock to Grad School in Record Numbers, But Few Blacks are Entering the Academic Pipeline," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 10 September 1986, 24.
92. Anderson, "Minority Graduate Education Committee Reports Comprehensive Findings," 14.
93. Nettles, *Financial Aid and Minority Participation*, 4.
94. *Ibid.*
95. Brazziel, "Road Blocks to Graduate School," 112.
96. *Ibid.*
97. Anderson, "Minority Graduate Education Committee Reports Comprehensive Findings," 16.
98. *Ibid.*
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100. Trevor L. Chandler, "Attracting Minority Graduate Students and Faculty in an Atmosphere of Increasing Competition," Prepared for the Council of Graduate Schools Idea Exchange Meeting, April 5, 1988, *CGS Communicator* 21 (5 June 1988).
101. Taunya Lovell Banks, "Gender Bias in the Classroom," *Journal of Legal Education* 38 (March/June 1988): 142–143.
102. Larraine T. Zappert and Kendyll Stansbury, *In the Pipeline: A Comparative Analysis of Men and Women in Graduate Programs in Science, Engineering, and Medicine at Stanford University* (Stanford: Stanford University School of Medicine, 1987).
103. *Ibid.*, 18.
104. Bernice R. Sandler, *The Campus Climate Revisited: Chilly For Faculty, Administrators, and Graduate Students* (Washington, DC: AAC/PSEW, 1986), 16; and James E. Blackwell, *Networking and Mentoring: A Study of Cross-Generational Experiences of Blacks in Graduate and Professional Schools* (Atlanta: Southern Education Foundation, 1983).
105. For more information, contact Israel Tribble, Jr., President, Florida Endowment for Higher Education, 201 East Kennedy Blvd., Suite 1525, Tampa, FL 33602; 813/221-2772. At Columbia University Teachers College, contact Joyce Luhrs, Research Associate, 116 Street and Broadway, New York, NY 10027; 212/678-4088 or 212/678-3758.
106. For a copy of the final report, *Experiential Program for Opportunities in Advanced Study and Research in Education, 1981–82 Final Report*, contact the University of Tennessee, Bureau of Educational Research and Service, Knoxville, TN 37916.
107. *Final Report of the Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities*, 26.
108. *Ibid.*, 25.
109. For more information, contact Faustine Jones-Wilson, The National Conference on Educating Black Children, Howard University, Washington, DC 20059. On the West Coast, contact Charlie Knight or Elizabeth Norwood, Compton Unified School District, 5845 Doverwood Dr., Culver City, CA 90230
110. Member, Board of Regents, University System of Georgia, quoted in "'In Box,'" *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 23 March 1988, A13.
111. Associate professor, PSEW questionnaire respondent, June 1988.

112. Associate professor, FSEW questionnaire respondent, June 1988.
113. FSEW questionnaire respondent, June 1988.
114. For a discussion of the climate for women faculty and administrators in general, see Sandler, *The Campus Climate Revisited*.
115. Shirley Vining Brown, *Increasing Minority Faculty: An Elusive Goal* (Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1988), 6.
116. *Summary Report 1986 Doctorate Recipients from U.S. Universities* (Washington, DC: National Research Council, 1986).
117. *Ibid.*, 7–8.
118. *Ibid.*, 25.
119. "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information" surveys, 1985, U.S. Equal Employment Opoportunity Commission, in *Minorities in Higher Education, Seventh Annual Status Report 1988* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education), 33–34.
120. Patricia Bell-Scott, "Schoolin' 'Respectable' Ladies of Color," *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors* 43 (Winter 1980): 1.
121. "EEO-6 Higher Education Staff Information," 36.
122. *Ibid.*, 12.
123. *Women in Higher Education Administration*, ed. Adrian Tinsley, Cynthia Secor, Sheila Kaplan (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984), 7.
124. Harvard, "Successful Behaviors," 13.
125. "Growth Slows in Number of Women Heading Colleges," *Higher Education and National Affairs* 37 (14 March 1988): 1–5.
126. Harvard, "Successful Behaviors," 7.
127. William Moore, Jr., "Black Faculty in White Colleges: A Dream Deferred," *Educational Record* 68, 69 (Fall 1987/Winter 1988): 117; and James E. Blackwell, "Issues Affecting Minorities in Higher Education" (Paper presented at the conference, "From Access to Achievement: Strategies for Urban Institutions," Los Angeles, November 15–17, 1987), 20.
128. Blackwell, "Issues Affecting Minorities in Higher Education."
129. *Toward Equity*, Appendix C3.
130. See "Whatley Finds Racism in College Textbooks," *Women's Studies Research Center Newsletter* 9: 1. Marianne Whatley found that while textbook authors now include more photographs of Blacks, these photographs tend to be stereotypical depictions of Black men and women.
131. Harvard, "Successful Behaviors," 8.
132. Justus et al., *The University of California in the 21st Century*, 23.
133. *Ibid.*
134. *Ibid.*
135. *Ibid.* and Margaret Wilkerson, "Lifting as We Climb: Networks for Minority Women," in *Women in Higher Education Administration*, ed. Tinsley, Secor, and Kaplan, 59–66. In this article, Wilkerson discusses the distinctive barriers that minorities–especially Black women–have faced, and how they have used networking to develop effective support systems that are sometimes different from the traditional models.
136. For a discussion of this issue, see Bell-Scott, "Schoolin' 'Respectable' Ladies of Color," 22–28; William Moore, Jr., and Lionel Wagstaff, *Black Educators in White Colleges* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974); and Moseley, "Black Women Administrators," 295–310. Moseley discusses Black women administrators as an "endangered species." See also Williams, "Chief Academic Officers of Black Colleges and Universities."
137. Bell-Scott, "Schoolin' 'Respectable' Ladies of Color," 27.
138. Swann and Witty, "Black Women Administrators," 262.
139. *Ibid.*, 263.
140. *Ibid.*
141. Williams, "Chief Academic Officers," 451.
142. *Ibid.*, 451–52.
143. See Fleming, *Blacks in College*; and Allen, *Gender and Campus Race Differences*.
144. Sandler, *The Campus Climate Revisited*, 6.
145. *Ibid.*, 9.
146. *Ibid.*
147. *Ibid.*, 10.
148. *Ibid.*, 10.
149. *Ibid.*, 13.
150. Justus et al., *The University of California in the 21st Century*, 25.
151. *Ibid.*
152. *Ibid.*, 27.
153. Debra E. Blum, "Black Woman Scholar at Emory U. Loses 3-Year Battle to Overturn Tenure," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 22 June 1988, A15.
154. Justus et al., *The University of California in the 21st Century*, 23; also see Brown, *Increasing Minority Faculty*, 25.
155. Moore, "Black Faculty in White Universities," 23.
156. Mitchell, "Visible, Vulnerable, and Viable," 17–28.
157. *Ibid.*, 25.
158. Blackwell, "Issues Affecting Minorities in Higher Education," 23; and Brown, *Increasing Minority Faculty*, 25.
159. Brown, *Increasing Minority Faculty*, 2.
160. Sandler, *The Campus Climate Revisited*, 19.
161. For example, one administrator noted that she had applied for numerous administrative positions and had been a finalist for almost all of them. In many cases, she felt that the committees had not been "ready" to interview her. Many of the questions were vague; often she was ignored and the interviewers talked to each other. She also felt as if she were being used in some of the interviews; one committee person told her, "You are going to make us look good!" University personnel need to be aware of the impression they make on Black female candidates.
162. Kenneth A. Shaw, President, University of Wisconsin System (Speech given at American Council on Education Conference, July 1988).
163. Harvard, *Successful Behaviors*, 46.
164. *Ibid.*, 15.
165. By September 1989, the University of California-Irvine will have the largest child-care program in the University of California system. It will offer child-care services to employees as well as students. For more information, contact Karen L. Bocard, Director, Auxiliary Campus Services, UC-Irvine, Irvine, CA 92717.
166. On June 19–24, 1988, the Association of American Colleges held the third annual Institute on the Study and Practice of Leadership at the University of Maryland. The title of the conference was "Leadership From Diverse Places." It looked specifically at women's and minorities' leadership issues. For more information on the outcome of this conference, contact David Stearman, Public Information Office, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

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Research/Resource Centers

Afro-American Women's Collection, Bennett College, Greensboro, NC 27401

Black Women Special Collection, Mooreland-Spingarn Resource Library, Howard University, Washington DC 20059

Black Women's Studies Institute, CUNY–Medgar Evers College, 1150 Carroll St., Brooklyn, NY 11225

Center for Research and Study of Black Women, Spelman College, Atlanta, GA 30311

Center for Research on Women, Memphis State University, Memphis, TN 38152

Center for the Study of Black Literature and Culture, University of Pennsylvania, 410 Logan Hall, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6387

The Duke University/University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill Women's Studies Research Center, 207 East Duke Bldg., Duke University, Durham, NC 27708

Margaret Narbet Curry Collection on Women, Quarles Library, Spelman College, Atlanta, GA 30311

Math Science Network Resource Center, 2727 College Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94705

National Archives for Black Women in History, 1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20005

Sarah Isom Center for Women's Studies, University of Mississippi, University, MS 38677

Women's Studies Program, University of Alabama, P.O. Box 1391, Tuscaloosa, AL 35486

Selected Organizations

Association for Black Women Historians, P.O. Box 19753, Durham, NC 27707, 919/683-6267

Association of Black Women in Higher Education, Inc., c/o UNCF, 500 East 62d St., New York, NY 10021, 212/326-1239

Black Women's Agenda, Inc., 208 Auburn Ave., NE, Atlanta, GA 30303, 404/524-8279

National Association for Equal Opportunity in Education, 400 12th St., NE, Lovejoy Bldg., Washington, DC 20002, 202/543-9111

National Black Alumni Association, 3531 16th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20010, 202/234-4925

National Institute for Women of Color, 1400 20th Street, NW, Suite 104, Washington, DC 20036, 202/828-0735

National Identification Program, Office of Women in Higher Education, American Council on Education, One Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 829, Washington, DC 20036, 202/939-9390

National Council of Negro Women, 1211 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 702, Washington, DC 20036, 202/659-0006

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